THE LIFE OF A SEA OFFICER

THE SEAFARERS' LIBRARY

Volumes already published

A Cruising Voyage Round the World

By Capt. Woodes Rogers
With Introduction and Notes by
G. E. Manwaring, F.R.Hist.S.

Voyages and Cruises of Commodore Walker

With Introduction and Notes by
H. E. Vaughan

A Voyage Round the World

By Capt. George Shelvocke
With Introduction and Notes by
W. G. Perrin, F.R.Hist.S.

The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring

With Introduction and Notes by
Capt. Alfred C. Dewar, R.N.

Voyages to the East Indies

By Christopher Fryke and
Christopher Schweitzer
With Introduction and Notes by
C. Ernest Fayle

SEA SCENE, FROM A PAINTING BY ADMIRAL RAIGERSFELD

(Reproduced by permission of the owner, Mr. Franklin Hall.)

THE SEAFARERS' LIBRARY
General Editor: G. E. MANWARING, F.R.Hist.S.

THE LIFE OF A SEA OFFICER

JEFFREY BARON DE RAIGERSFELD
REAR ADMIRAL OF THE RED

With Introduction and Notes by
L. G. CARR LAUGHTON

WITH 8 HALF-TONE PLATES

CASSELL AND COMPANY LTD.
LONDON, TORONTO, MELBOURNE & SYDNEY

Privately printed about 1830
Published in the Seafarers' Library, 1929

Printed in Great Britain

INTRODUCTION

THE book which is here reprinted may safely be pronounced to be very rare. The copy used for this edition is in the Admiralty Library, and, as far as is known, there is no other in any of the great libraries of London. It was privately printed by the Kent Arms Press, Maidstone, with a title page bearing neither the author's name nor the date. The Kent Arms Press is still in existence, but has changed hands since Raigersfeld's time, and the present owner has no record of its activities of a hundred years ago.

The author concludes with some account of an appointment he received in November, 1828, from which it seems probable that his last pages were written in the following year, and it is certain that the book was printed shortly afterwards. Its issue can hardly have taken place after 1831, as his appointment was for three years and he does not carry his narrative on to its conclusion. The Admiralty copy was presented by the author to Earl de Grey, who succeeded to that title in May, 1833, and was First Lord of the Admiralty from 22nd December, 1834, to 25th April, 1835. As it is not known that the author was a personal friend of, or even acquainted with, Lord de Grey, the natural inference is that he presented a copy of his book to the First Lord in virtue of his office.

As to the author, he was Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral, Jeffery Raigersfeld. His name is inserted in a later hand, perhaps Lord de Grey's, on the title page of the existing copy; but even without this help his identity is disclosed by his own narrative.

The form of the book is clumsy. The author mentions few names, and hardly ever condescends to a date. From the narrative it would for instance be easy to carry away the belief that Raigersfeld passed a long time in France as a prisoner of war; but by dating the events to which he refers it is made apparent that his rigorous confinement lasted not more than two months, and his total captivity less than six months.

Like many autobiographers from Phineas Pett onwards, Raigersfeld wrote for his family; but, unlike the majority, he wrote what was strictly an autobiography rather than memoirs. His family, he considered, would want to know what he himself had done and experienced rather than what he had observed; and he therefore related very little of the life of the Service beyond what had directly con-

cerned himself; and he seems even to have taken pains to avoid making us better acquainted with his messmates. It is not that he could not introduce a man if he would, for this is shown by the happy exception of his first ship the *Mediator*. In writing of her he speaks at considerable length of her Captain, whose fine character clearly made a deep impression on him, and thus fortunately we get another side-light, and a valuable one, on Cuthbert Collingwood. And he tells us so much of the others with whom he was most intimately concerned, the mate of his mess, and the "blackguard boy" who served as mess waiter, that we feel that really no more need be said about them. But he has hardly a word to say even of the lieutenants, while the midshipmen only appear *en masse* as general delinquents, and the warrant officers and foremast men are not mentioned. This may be due to his aristocratic tradition; but, for all his insistence on his British birth, his outlook is continental rather than British, and he lays himself open to more than a suspicion of Teutonic exclusiveness. He would doubtless have resented any suggestion of this, and yet his own words bear witness against him. He tells of his great loneliness as a youngster; and at the end of his first Voyage defines his method: "It is of myself only that I would speak, I have not touched upon others, except where it was absolutely necessary to connect circumstances together." Quite so; but these are not the words of a man of wide human sympathy; and we are forced to picture him, boy and man, as proud, sensitive, and reserved, even to the point of shyness, conscientious and painstaking no doubt, with a fund of affection held in reserve, to be lavished later on his own family, but by no means overflowing in the ordinary relationships of life.

Such a man makes few friends, and for want of them turns to other interests for consolation. Raigersfeld turned to several studies as opportunity offered, especially to those which gave rein to his undoubted appreciation of beauty. He describes his interest in art, and how he took or made opportunities of gaining instruction in it. Yet it is characteristic of the man that he nowhere says a word of his success in this pursuit. For all that can be learnt from his book he might have been no more than an average amateur, a man who made little drawings to give to his friends and relatives. But, though his name has been very completely forgotten, he was in fact an artist of merit and note. He exhibited paintings at the Royal Academy, sea-pieces, landscapes, and interiors.

Nevertheless, in spite of many undoubted good qualities, he was not of the stuff that makes successful officers. That he was correct and zealous cannot be doubted, that he was clear-sighted and courageous emerges from his narrative; but manifestly he lacked the fire and power of inspiration which make a born leader of men. Thus it was that in spite of very excellent introductions, of being personally

known to both Hood and Howe, and having been brought forward in the Service by such men as Collingwood and Strachan, his career in the Navy was undistinguished. As a youngster he was left behind by many of his contemporaries in the race for promotion ; as a commander he was side-tracked into converted colliers, which he styles " pack-horses " ; and as a post-captain he never had a sea-going command. In the case of a competent officer who never tried to pick his service such a result speaks for itself. He can hardly have looked back on it with any high degree of satisfaction.

That Raigersfeld was not much of a literary man is true : his style was pedestrian at best, and often slipshod and even ungrammatical, while his conception of the use to which good autobiographical material could be put was deplorably limited. Nevertheless it may be that he was unconsciously something of a pioneer. Whether it was printed immediately on completion or not, it is reasonably certain that his book was finished by 1830, so that it is at least contemporary with, if not earlier than, both Chamier's " Life of a Sailor " and Basil Hall's first series of " Fragments of Voyages and Travels." Of these two books, both published in 1831, Chamier's was frankly an autobiography, while Hall's, though in great measure descriptive, being based on his own Service career was necessarily closely akin to memoirs. Before their time, it has been believed, no nineteenth-century writer had thought of a naval career as a fit subject for autobiography in any form. Cruising, fighting, and details of the Service were not recognized as food for the general public till the sketch writers and novelists, especially Glascock and Marryat, discovered in the late 'twenties that the public would devour them greedily ; Glascock and Marryat, and those one or two others whose work remains anonymous, first took their readers to sea, and once the door was opened the autobiographers stepped in. As far as can at present be said, Raigersfeld was the first of them.

The question might be raised whether Raigersfeld intended his book for publication, and only printed it at his own expense when he had failed to find a publisher. It is very probable. A very few years after he wrote, a considerable number of naval officers were prompted by the vogue of popular naval literature to write their memoirs. Some of these have in the last few years been discovered and published, and it can hardly be doubted that others will come to light ; but none of them were published when written, though it is hardly to be supposed that Hoffman, Bartholomew James, Richardson, and Gardner all wrote only with the intention that their Service adventures and experiences should be read in manuscript by their friends and relatives. It would seem that about 1835 the novelists had the field virtually to themselves, having persuaded the publishers that it was their wares that the public wanted. There is not one of

the writers mentioned who was not greatly superior in authorship to Raigersfeld. If they failed to find publishers at the height of the vogue, it is not to be wondered at that he should have remained unpublished at its beginning.

Jeffery Raigersfeld was the son of John Luke, Baron de Raigersfeld of the Holy Roman Empire, who came to England as a member of the Austrian embassy in 1756, married here, and died in 1819 at the age of eighty-six. Jeffery, writing for his family, says extremely little of his parents. He mentions his mother occasionally, but without saying who she was, nor even whether she was an Englishwoman. As, however, he always insists on his British birth it is more than likely that she was English ; and, from the absence of any reference to German, it is probable that English was the language spoken in his home. He is very vague about the death of his mother : when speaking of the appointment to the Sea Fencibles which he held from 1805 to 1810 he says that she died " about this time," which would mean that she had about forty years of married life. Jeffery, who was born on 31st March, 1771, was probably an only son. He mentions no brothers, and only two sisters, twins, who died in infancy. He is equally indefinite about his own marriage, only telling us that he married " a good and sensible woman " shortly before he was appointed to the Fencibles, and that his family consisted of two daughters, both of whom lived to maturity.

We know, however, from another source that his wife was a daughter of the Rev. Peter Hawkins, Rector of Woodchester and of Hampnett, Co. Gloucester.

This is not very much, but is probably all that we need to know, when added to what we learn of Raigersfeld's personality from his own narrative. It helps us to understand how it was that the youngsters in the midshipmen's berth felt that he was not quite one of themselves. A fellow with a German name, they would argue, must needs be a foreigner ; and quite probably their suspicions were increased by an aloofness of manner which seemed to them to be out of place. It is likely, too, that he had a greater command of money than was usual among the penurious " young gentlemen " of the period, and he certainly had more influential friends. Such advantages would hardly serve to recommend to his messmates a boy who, for other reasons, promised to be unpopular, and from a consideration of these things we can understand how it was that his first years in the Service threw him a good deal on his own resources. It was not that he was lacking in spirit, for he tells how, after having failed to decide a rivalry with another youngster by two or three battles with fists, he proposed to settle the matter with " hangers," *i.e.* cutlasses ; and this, though decided by the oldsters to be contrary to the laws of the cockpit,

freed him from oppression and led to his taking his right place in the berth and in the ship.

There is a pleasant old-world flavour about his account of his childhood and school days, but the only part of it that needs comment is a curious lapse of memory. He describes how, while he was at school at Whitehaven, "a great noise was made about Paul Jones, who, it was said, was on the coast with the intention of burning the shipping in the harbour, as well as to sack the town," and after a somewhat optimistic account of the preparations made there for his reception,—in which he claims to have taken a seven-year-old part—he continues that the townspeople "felt as though their ardour alone had driven that determined character out of the neighbourhood, although no one could positively say that he had ever been seen thereabouts, or even in St. George's Channel."

And yet, on 23rd April, 1778, Paul Jones did actually make an attempt on the shipping in Whitehaven, and came much nearer than was comfortable to succeeding in destroying it. There are other passages in the book which show that Raigersfeld's interest in naval history was but perfunctory, but no other in which he is so much adrift concerning a matter which fell within his own experience.

The method of Raigersfeld's entry into the Navy will seem curious to such as may be unacquainted with the customs of the eighteenth century, yet it may not unfairly be described as normal for the period. The beginning of it was that the boy, then about seven years old and at school in Cumberland, was told by his father that Captain Cornwallis—afterwards Admiral the Hon. Sir William Cornwallis, "Billy Blue"—had entered his name on the books of his ship the *Lion*, which was then, in the winter of 1778–79, fitting out at Portsmouth for the West Indies. There was no intention that the boy should go to sea in the ship, he was too young, and in fact stayed at school and never came within hundreds of miles of her. It cannot now be proved that Cornwallis did actually enter the boy's name, for the muster-book of the *Lion* has been lost. The pay-book exists, and Jeffery Raigersfeld's name is not on it, but its absence does not prove that it was not entered in the muster-book. It is an interesting point in the minutiæ of naval administration that a captain might be willing to make a fraudulent entry of this nature in his muster-book to oblige a friend, though at the same time he might be unwilling to make a personal profit by the entry, as he would have done had he placed the name also on the pay-book.

The arrangement, as has been noticed, was fraudulent, but the fraud was then almost universal and was recognized as the custom of the Service. Even the strictest officers practised it as a matter of course; Byam Martin, for example, himself afterwards Admiral

of the Fleet, was successively placed on the books of the *Canada* by Cornwallis, when he was seven ; of the *Foudroyant* by Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, when he was ten ; and of the *Orpheus*, Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral, George Campbell when he was eleven. A year later he actually joined the Navy, being entered at the R.N. Academy.

The purpose of the fraud was to steal a march on the regulation which laid down that, in order to be eligible for promotion to lieutenant, a young man must have served for six years at sea and be not less than 20 years of age. If, therefore, he could, by a bogus entry, be credited with having served for a couple or more years before ever he set foot on board ship, he would be able to present himself for examination and promotion after having been afloat for much less than the regulation period of six years. Even so it will at first sight appear strange that a boy's name should be entered when he was only seven, for obviously, if his six years of servitude were counted from that entry, he might still be only thirteen when they were completed ; whereas the regulation said also that his examiners were to satisfy themselves that he was not less than 20 years of age.

The fact was that parents took opportunities as they offered. An opportunity of stealing a year or two of sham time might occur when their son was seven, or even less ; but that was not to say that another such chance would follow, especially in peace time when there were few ships in commission. It was on the safe side to assume that for the rest of his six years the boy would have to go afloat in person. Very few actually went to sea till they were about thirteen, which, given two years gained by false musters, would bring them to the end of their time at seventeen. There was virtually no limit to the age at which a boy might be entered. Though no actual instance of it seems to have been discovered, it seems at least possible that an enterprising parent might have secured the entry of a son in anticipation of his birth; and it is recorded fact that at least one naval officer, John Clavell, who was first lieutenant of the *Royal Sovereign* at Trafalgar, was borne on the books of a ship at the age of one year. That was in 1779, and he did not actually go afloat till 1792, when he was fourteen. In the following year he was in the *Victory* off Toulon, thus being a shipmate of Raigersfeld, then serving in her as a passed midshipman.

There were many cases in which the candidate was well under the regulation age of 20 when he presented himself for examination. Thus one fraud led to another, and it was an understood thing that if he seemed to know his work, or if he had influence behind him, it might not be desirable to scrutinize too closely either the records of his " service " or the authenticity of the birth certificate which he produced. By the court-martial held on Captain Isaac Coffin, in

1788, for signing a false muster, the bottom was knocked out of the fraud of bogus "service," but the forging of birth certificates was winked at till a very much later date.

Raigersfeld made his first appearance on board ship by joining the *Mediator*, a 44-gun two-decker, commanded by Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, his name being entered on her books from 28th April, 1783. His junior service, as shown in his passing certificate, stands thus :

Ship.	Entry.	Quality.		Time.			
				Y.	M.	W.	D.
Mediator	28 Apr. 1783	Capt.'s servt.	1 May 1785	2	—	—	4
	2 May 1785	Ab.	3 Aug. 1786	1	3	1	3
Triumph	31 Aug. 1786	Adm's. servt.	6 Sep. 1787	1	—	1	—
Vestal	7 Sep. 1787	Mid.	19 Feb. 1789	1	5	3	5
Bellona	2 Apr. 1789	Mid.	23 Jan. 1790	—	10	2	3
				6	7	1	1

It will be noticed that his fictitious time in the *Lion* is not counted, otherwise he might have presented himself for examination after his discharge from the *Triumph*. He had apparently intended to do so, for he had provided himself with a certificate of baptism showing that he would be 20 years old by 1st March, 1788, thus adding three, or at least two years to his age as it stands on other records. The reason why he did not then go up for his examination was that he was not qualified, a point which at the time he would seem to have overlooked. The fact is that the regulation said that of the six years' junior time, two must have been served with the rating of midshipman or of master's mate ; and until he joined the *Vestal* in September, 1787, Raigersfeld never had the rating of midshipman. It is not improbable that as a youngster he did not realize that this part of the regulation would be insisted upon. When false musters, fraudulent time, and bogus certificates were not only winked at but were in the regular order of things, it may very well not have occurred to him that the view of the authorities was that the two years served as midshipman redeemed the laxness in all other directions, for the theory of the day still was that a midshipman was necessarily a responsible petty officer. There too there was a fraud, though not an intentional one. The status of the midshipman had for long been slowly altering,

and by the middle of the 18th century it was definitely accepted that he was a quarter-deck petty officer, and therefore that his rating might be given to any of the "young gentlemen" as convenient. The 17th-century rule that a man must have served for some years as an able seaman before he could be promoted to midshipman had entirely lapsed in practice, but it still held a theoretical place in the qualifications laid down for promotion to lieutenant.

It has often been noticed that the rating of "captain's servant," with which Raigersfeld like very many other naval officers first went afloat, did not imply a menial capacity. The rating dates from the late 17th century, at which date the term servant was regularly used, both ashore and afloat, where we would say apprentice. Thus a captain's servant was the captain's apprentice, who went to sea to be brought up to the captain's profession of a sea officer. And here it may be noticed that on his title page Raigersfeld describes himself as a "sea officer," not as a "naval officer." He was probably rather old-fashioned in doing so as late as this. Marryat's first novel, published in 1829, styled the hero a "naval officer," a term which down to about that date had implied a civilian officer employed under the Navy Board. As Raigersfeld seems to have written his book at the time when he came under the Navy Board as superintendent of the Sheerness ordinary, it is fair to suppose that he may have intentionally used the obsolescent term to emphasize the distinction between himself and the dockyardmen with whom he was brought in contact. But it is quite likely that, as by then he had been virtually out of the Service for thirteen years, he may have lost touch, and not have kept abreast of the development of naval idiom.

The picture drawn by Raigersfeld of Cuthbert Collingwood, the captain of his first ship, is both pleasing and valuable. It is evident that the boy admired his captain immensely both as an officer and as a man; and his evidence will help to modify other far less favourable opinions, such for instance as Sir George Elliot's, based on casual or brief experience of that great man's ways and character. And yet there is nothing in the picture that is at variance with what we know already of Collingwood. Raigersfeld does not describe him as other than a reserved man, cold to those to whom he was indifferent, and severe on occasion; but he shows that the one recommendation which a boy would find of value with him was keenness and a strict attention to duty. To a boy who did his best he was helpful and kind, encouraging him in his work and even acting as tutor to him in his general studies. But he was strict even with his favoured pupil, for Raigersfeld, in giving a long list of the punishments to which midshipmen at that period were subject, mentions that all of them were at one time or another inflicted on board the *Mediator*, and that

among others he himself had been flogged at the cabin gun—" married to the gunner's daughter " as the slang phrase went. The other youngsters of the ship would appear to have been in Collingwood's eyes unpromising material, and many of the oldsters to match, for their share of the captain's attention seems to have been disrating, turning before the mast, and being brought to the gun. It is not likely that any of them would have given an enthusiastic account of Collingwood. It is possible to discover in Raigersfeld himself a certain similarity of disposition to his captain ; there may have been something of this inherent in the boy, but it is also likely that part may have been due to conscious imitation.

Collingwood's interest in his " young gentlemen," as the varied ratings who did duty as midshipmen were termed collectively, does not seem to have extended to their berthing and messing. In some ships at this period the midshipmen's berths were comfortably equipped and well kept ; in the *Mediator* there was seemingly little comfort and certainly no luxury. The main hatchway berth to which Raigersfeld was assigned was much such another as is described by Smollett as the abode of Roderick Random, though an improvement may be noticed in the provision of mess traps and of a few very simple additions to the ship's fare. There were seven in this berth, five oldsters and two youngsters, from which it will be seen that even in so small a ship as the *Mediator*, a 44-gun ship on two decks, there were at least two, and more probably three, " midshipman's berths." The crowding of the whole mass of the " young gentlemen " into one berth, which is so familiar a feature of the novels of the Napoleonic period, seems to have been a later development. In Raigersfeld's time there was no counterpart of the modern gun-room mess. The fagging and bullying of the youngsters and defrauding them of their fair share of the best of the victuals was precisely as is described by other writers of later date. Indeed there is a distinct similarity in several respects between Raigersfeld's book and Marryat's " Frank Mildmay " ; so much so that in reading it one is tempted to wonder whether it was printed early enough for Marryat to have read it before he wrote his first novel. The suspicion would however be groundless ; for if the book did appear so early, Marryat was at sea and could not have seen it.

The food naturally was unpleasant. At this time a good deal of it, especially the biscuit, was particularly bad, for there were large stocks remaining over from the recent war. Thus we are introduced to weevils and bargemen. Weevils tasted bitter, and, as is related elsewhere, made the throat feel dry. The bargeman, the bread maggot, fat with a black head, was cold as he went down, but not bitter. Raigersfeld writes as a connoisseur in these things, and seems to have preferred the bargeman. Then there was the butter which

turned to train-oil as they went south, and the inimitable story of the perfectly bald mouse. As a relish to this sort of bread and butter, when the allowance of beef and pork was out, there were rats. Nearly all the writers of memoirs refer to the rats : Gardner shows that they were sometimes eaten even in the ward-room, Richardson reproaches himself with having been so foolish as not to eat them. Raigersfeld ate them and found them good, fully as good as rabbit, which, as they fed on the ship's biscuit and peas, clean food, is not remarkable. Raigersfeld adds the picturesque touch of their appearance as spread out for sale by the captain of the hold ; but he does not refer to them by their Service name of " Millers," indicative of their diet. Perhaps it was not yet in use in 1784.

The description of Collingwood cutting off the oldsters' pigtails is amusing, and Raigersfeld's theory that crops may have been the result of this incident is ingenious though not convincing. But he is certainly right that at this very time pigtails did go out of fashion for officers : he does not refer to the seaman's pigtail, and would not have found one in his first ship, but he might truthfully have added that no sooner had officers abandoned the tail than the men began to take to it.

It can hardly be supposed that the robbery of his chest which he describes was at all usual. Gardner suffered in somewhat similar fashion, but at the hands of dockyardmen when the ship went into dock. Bad cases of theft were still punished by running the gauntlet, a punishment which Raigersfeld does not mention though he mentions many. He expresses the astonishment he felt when he first met with " starting," which was casual and unofficial thrashing. It went on long after this time, and the back of the practice was only broken by the court-martial held on Captain Robert Corbet in 1809. The Admiralty in reviewing the finding of that court condemned and forbade the practice as " extremely disgusting to the feelings of British seamen." Of flogging he saw little, for Collingwood was very sparing of the cat ; but before the ship sailed he did see a case of flogging round the fleet and was " quite astonished when the man came on board again after the punishment was over, to see in what a hardened manner he behaved, swearing such bitter oaths as made me, at this early day, quite afraid."

Raigersfeld was present at Tracey's attempts to raise the *Royal George*, and did not think that the ship moved. Tracey himself was convinced that she did, but the Navy Board and Admiralty were not, or would not be convinced. Tracey's own account of his efforts and unfortunate experience was printed in 1784, and the burning shame of the whole affair was that the Admiralty, knowing perfectly well that the bottom was virtually out of the ship, should have encouraged him to spend his own money in order to whitewash themselves. But though Raigersfeld was at Portsmouth very soon after the court-martial,

he knew nothing whatever of the facts of the case. The secret was very well kept.

Commissioner Martin, Byam Martin's father, would seem to have kept something very like open house to all who came to him with introductions. Raigersfeld as a boy had the advantage of making the Commissioner's house his home when at Portsmouth, and there he met Prince William Henry, who troubled the Martins a good deal. He did not mention the prince's rank, but as the meeting took place after the return of the *Mediator* from the West Indies, he must then have been a newly promoted post-captain. A very short time before this, when the prince was still a senior midshipman, the Commissioner's two small sons offered him personal violence in the back garden, to the horror of their father. The prince naturally had the best of it, and then, as afterwards, impressed Byam Martin with the force of his language. Raigersfeld had no such experience as this, for both he and the prince were by then too old for boyish squabbles ; but he had been well brought up, and would not have been likely in any case to lift a sacrilegious hand against the son of the Lord's Anointed.

It seems a little odd to find that when the *Mediator* paid off, Lord Hood, then Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, should have recommended Raigersfeld's father to send him " to a good mathematical school for a twelvemonth." There were schoolmasters in the ships of the Navy in those days, and it is possible that the *Mediator* may have had one, though we do not hear of him ; but the boy had been under Collingwood's tuition for three years, and it might be supposed that Collingwood would have recognized that mathematics should form an important part of the curriculum. It may be, however, that he was of opinion that between the ages of twelve and fifteen a boy would be better employed in laying the foundation of a general education, making no attempt at specialization till later. We know from Raigersfeld that he did expect his senior midshipmen to be able to do a little more than fudge a day's work, for he cut off their pigtails when he found that they couldn't ; but from the little that Raigersfeld says it seems to have been the case that the captain's lessons were literary rather than mathematical. If there was a schoolmaster the boy probably did not benefit much thereby, though he may have had some perfunctory lessons in mathematics and elementary navigation ; for the old class of schoolmasters, before the days of naval instructors, who were introduced after Raigersfeld had reached flag-rank, were generally incompetent, or, in the few instances where they were men of ability, were almost invariably drunken and disreputable. There is an entertaining sketch of one such man in Gardner's recollections. A little later than Raigersfeld's junior time a few captains began to

try to remedy the defect by entering chaplains for their own ships who would also make competent instructors, thus blazing the trail which was eventually followed; but the movement had made little progress before the peace of 1815.

Hood, then, said that Raigersfeld had better go to school, and to school accordingly he went; but it will be noticed both from his passing certificate, and from his statement of services, that during that twelvemonth he was borne on the books of Hood's flagship as belonging to the "admiral's retinue." It does not appear from anything he says that Raigersfeld ever went on board the *Triumph*; but when passing he was allowed time for her upon his exhibiting "a certificate from Lord Hood that he did the duty upon the quarter-deck during the whole of that time." This is another flagrant instance of false musters, backed by a certificate, and the man who signed them was the greatest admiral of his time. Obviously Hood's theory was that he was a quarter-deck officer of the ship absent on duty, that duty being to learn an essential part of his business.

Hood did more than this for the boy, for when the year was up he recommended him to Sir Richard Strachan, afterwards "the delighted Sir Dickie," one of the best captains in the Service. The "rumour of war" which followed immediately on his appointment to the *Vestal* was what is known as the "Dutch Armament" of 1787. The threat was directed not against Holland, but against France, which was proposing to interfere in that country, and France could not face it. The crisis was over in less than two months, and many of the ships which had been put in commission were paid off, but this reduction did not affect the *Vestal*. It will be noticed that at this crisis pressing was resorted to in anticipation of war, a thing which was rarely done. This was no doubt thought to be undesirable; for when the crisis of the "Spanish Armament" followed three years later, the Admiralty on paying off the ships gave three months extra pay to the officers and men employed. This was an act of policy as well as of grace, for it did much to popularize the Service, and to ensure the speedy manning of ships at the next emergency.

Raigersfeld, like most naval officers, regarded pressing as inevitable; and so it was, as long as the Crown could not pay an economic rate of wages to the seamen. So much has been written of the brutality and hardship of the practice, and of the serious resistance which seamen offered to the gangs, that it is interesting to meet with Raigersfeld's statement that he "never knew but one instance where resistance was offered." This does not imply that he had not heard of plenty of others, but it does help to indicate that resistance was very much the exception instead of, as is often supposed, the rule.

After the Dutch trouble was over the *Vestal* was chosen to carry out Colonel the Hon. Charles Alan Cathcart as ambassador to China,

and she was so overloaded with stores in preparation for the voyage as to be barely seaworthy. She ran into a severe gale as soon as she started, suffered a good deal of damage, and was very nearly lost. The ship's log shows that Raigersfeld's memory played him serious tricks in connection with this voyage. He says, for instance, that they crossed the line in 25° W. and were becalmed for four weeks: the log shows that they crossed it on 2nd January, 1788, in 21° W., and were becalmed for ten days, from the 22nd to the 31st of January in 18° and 19° West. Later in the voyage he makes a similar mistake. He says that, running before a gale after they left the Cape, they sailed the extraordinary distance of 900 miles in three days. The log shows that between the 27th April and 2nd May their shortest day's run was 214 miles, and the highest 251 miles; while the greatest distance covered in any three days was 709 miles. Even a clipper ship of the 1870's would be proud of 900 miles in three days, but it is very doubtful whether a frigate, a bluff, short, heavy ship, ever made any such speed for more than a few hours at a time.

It was in the gale when they made the phenomenal speed that they met the *Flying Dutchman*, concerning which Raigersfeld quotes a legend entirely different from that which is generally related. The incident does not seem to be mentioned in the log, where one might have expected to find some such entry as "Fresh gales. Observed a merchantman broach to and sink." Perhaps the master, like Raigersfeld, believed with the seamen that the unfortunate ship really was a phantom, and therefore refused to log her. It might have been expected that Raigersfeld would have shown himself less superstitious, but he may be excused on account of his age, for he was then just seventeen. Obviously he was very much impressed, for he allowed himself to be betrayed into the writing of verse, for the first and only time. His verses are no better and no worse than those of most boys at his age, and it was fortunate for him that there happened to be on board the *Vestal* a man who was able to divert his artistic activities into a more promising channel.

This was Julius Cæsar Ibbetson, draughtsman to the embassy, and already a well-known artist. Raigersfeld saved Ibbetson from being eaten by a shark, and Ibbetson taught Raigersfeld drawing. He mentions that for practice he made many sketches of parts of the ship: should these turn up some day they will have a value as records which he can never have anticipated.

The embassy was nipped in the bud, for Cathcart died when the ship was in the Straits of Banca, and was buried at Anjer. There was then nothing to be done but to take the ship home again, and, except for an epidemic of dysentery, the passage was uneventful. Raigersfeld himself suffered from dysentery, and very nearly made a meal for the sharks which followed the ship; but, when given up

by the surgeon, he was cured by the surgeon's mate who had served in a slaver, and administered to Raigersfeld a specific which he had found effective with the negroes. It was on this cruise that his interest in medical practice began. He used, he says, always to "attend the surgeon when he and his mates visited the sick; by them my assiduity was not only noticed but encouraged, and I gained much useful knowledge." He continued this study, and it will be seen that, throughout the book, whenever he has an opportunity of describing a medical or surgical case, he embraces it with enthusiasm.

Lord Hood next decided that his protégé ought to have some experience of the routine of a guardship, and Raigersfeld was accordingly appointed to the *Bellona*, Captain F. J. Hartwell, at Portsmouth, in which ship he continued for nearly a year; then, having served his time, he obtained leave to go up to London to pass his examination. The *Bellona* does not seem to have been a particularly happy ship, both the captain and first lieutenant being, by Raigersfeld's account, hasty and inconsiderate. The only event of any note that happened during his service in her was that she was ordered round to Weymouth as one of the ships attending on the King when he went afloat day by day in a frigate. Raigersfeld merely refers to the means taken to entertain the King, which will be found described at some length in the "Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin," who was then a midshipman of the frigate in which His Majesty embarked (i., 157 *sq.*).

On 2nd March, 1790, Raigersfeld passed his examination and was declared to be qualified to hold a lieutenant's commission; but in peace time, even for a boy with interest—and his father's friend, Lord Hood, was at this time a lord of the Admiralty—to be declared qualified for promotion and to get it were two entirely different things. He did not in the event get his commission until after the outbreak of war, more than three years later, and then Hood himself had an opportunity of promoting him.

It has been mentioned already that when he went up for his examination he presented a birth certificate which antedated his birth by three years, making him out to be nearly 22 instead of not yet 19. It seems worth notice that this document, which purports to be signed by the curate of the parish where he was born, Marylebone, is written on a scrap of ordinary paper, the curate's name only being inserted, without his status, and the names of Raigersfeld's parents not being mentioned. Such omissions were common in the certificates presented; but a thing that the Navy Board ought to have regarded as suspicious, had their inclination tended in that direction, was the fact of an odd slip of paper being used though other birth certificates from the same parish at that date were drawn on a printed form. It is, of course, impossible to say who forged this certificate. Perhaps Raigersfeld did it himself, and the writing is not unlike his; perhaps

he paid five shillings to the porter at the Navy Board for it as Sir George Elliot did a dozen years later. The demand for certificates must have proved a steady and not inconsiderable source of income to the porter.

After his examination Raigersfeld went in the frigate *Pearl* to the Mediterranean. This must have been the pleasantest time of his life, for he had nothing to worry about, excellent social introductions, and the time passed in what was virtually a yachting cruise. The reader will hardly fail to see an anticipation of Mr. Midshipman Easy's Mediterranean service, with the fighting and most of the mischief left out. This was the year when the Nootka Sound business led to the " Spanish Armament." The *Pearl* received the news at Gibraltar, and was ordered off Cadiz to see what the Spaniards were doing. A line-of-battle ship came out to look at her, but refused to be dared into attacking her : there was to be no war because Spain, like France three years before, could not face the British naval mobilization.

From Cadiz the *Pearl* went to Lisbon where Raigersfeld procured his discharge. His reason for this was that while off Cadiz the first lieutenant had used " very gross " language to him and he wished to challenge him, which he did. The lieutenant acknowledged his error and there was no duel, but Raigersfeld returned home to England in a brig. Raigersfeld says that he had his captain's protection in this difficulty, which would seem to mean that if he had wished to bring the lieutenant to a court-martial he might have done so. Strictly speaking this would have been his correct course, though almost certainly unadvisable. It may be that his foreign blood was in great measure responsible for the challenge, which, in such circumstances, seems continental rather than English. In speaking of this affair he says that he procured his discharge " from the Service " so that he might be free to fight if need be. He seems to have forgotten that a midshipman had no rank in the Service, and that in those days, and till long after, when he did not belong to a ship he no longer belonged to the Navy : whence the saying that you couldn't break a midshipman unless you broke his neck.

He records an interesting incident of this cruise. While the ship was at Genoa a galley slave escaped, " swam to our ship, got up the side, ran aft, and wrapped himself in the ensign, where he considered himself safe from slavery," and considered rightly. Twenty years later exactly the same thing happened on board the frigate *Salsette* at Constantinople, as is recorded by Chamier in almost identical words. (" Life of a Sailor," i., 138). The only difference was that in the latter case the slave, who was a Turk, made the sign of the cross, presumably either as claiming to be a Christian, or because he in some traditional way identified the ensign with the shrine which ships formerly had carried at the break of the poop.

Early next year Lord Hood took Raigersfeld into the *Victory* on the occasion of the "Russian Armament," which, incidentally, was not another triumph of sea-power as it is commonly represented, and was then popularly supposed, to have been. Gardner's reference is pithy, picturesque and true: "The Russian Armament commencing, Lord Hood hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, too, and took command of the fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line moored in two lines abreast, the frigates between, which had a most beautiful appearance, and thousands from all parts of the country came to gaze, and went back as wise as ever" ("Recollections," 99).

When the Armament ended Raigersfeld went home, and thence went to reside in the Abbey of St. Martin at Tournai in order to learn French. He seems to have enjoyed himself, learning French (imperfectly it would seem), riding, and fencing, and being treated as "l'enfant gâté de la maison." The good time was brought to an end by the French declaration of war against Austria; and, after some small experience of the preliminary operations, Raigersfeld left Belgium just in time to escape from Dumouriez's invasion.

War broke out with France in the following March, and in readiness for it Raigersfeld again joined the *Victory* with Lord Hood, after some backbiting and scandal had made it impossible for him to serve in the *Courageux*. Very possibly, even probably, Raigersfeld was blameless, and was right in believing the lieutenant whom he had challenged on board the *Pearl* to be at the bottom of it, but it would be bootless to enquire further. It is more to the point that there was almost certainly an element of personal unpopularity, for scandal followed him to the *Victory*, and did not entirely vanish even when it became apparent that he was a follower of the Commander-in-Chief. His last few months as midshipman can hardly have been happy ones.

However, his release was near at hand. The fleet, under Lord Hood, proceeded off Toulon and on 24th August sent in a cartel. The officer sent, "Lieutenant Cook," was Edward Cooke, then third lieutenant of the *Victory*, who in 1799, when in command of the *Sibylle*, captured the French frigate *Forte*, being mortally wounded in the engagement. Cooke was chosen for this service as being an excellent French scholar, and it was no doubt from his knowledge of French that Raigersfeld was selected to accompany him. It may be supposed also that it was to his knowledge of the language that Raigersfeld was indebted for his appointment as aide to Captain Keith Elphinstone (afterwards Lord Keith) when he was governor of Toulon. The last piece of service Raigersfeld performed as a midshipman was to carry a letter on board the Spanish flagship and insist upon an answer. He did not know what the trouble was about, but he did

know that the letter was an ultimatum and behaved accordingly. His account throws some new light on a troublesome incident.

What had happened was that, General O'Hara having been appointed to command the allied troops in Toulon, and having taken up his appointment, the Spanish Government sent out one of their own generals to undertake that command, and it became Langara's duty to insist that O'Hara should be superseded by the Spaniard. Hood, of course, would not hear of this, whereupon the Spanish flagship and two other ships took up berths near the *Victory*. They seem to have thought that the threat would succeed, as the English fleet at the moment had been much weakened by detachments and numbered only ten sail of the line to the Spaniards' seventeen. Hood's answer to the menace was to clear for action, to bring the *Victory's* broadside to bear on Langara, and to send Raigersfeld on board him with an ultimatum bidding him shift back to his own berth. Langara gave way. The incident is important as indicating the entire lack of cordiality which existed from the outset between the allies, and did so much to make effective co-operation impossible.

It will be noticed that Raigersfeld says that his promotion to lieutenant was delayed owing to the overhearing of an indiscreet comment which he made on the quarter-deck "nearly a week after our arrival." As the arrival took place on the 24th August and the promotion was dated the 31st, it is evident that the delay at most can only have been a couple of days or so; but Raigersfeld's recollection would be rather of the tension of waiting than of the actual duration of time, and any delay which would allow a few others to slip in in front of him would seem interminable. After a few days ashore on duty at Toulon in his new rank he was appointed to the brig *Speedy* and detached from the fleet. The *Speedy* was one of the smallest sloops in the Navy, being a brig of 200 tons with a broadside of seven four-pounders. Her full complement, which she rarely seems to have had, was ninety men, and, judging by modern conditions, the marvel is how she could stow them. She was so low between decks that Cochrane, who afterwards commanded her, could only shave himself by unshipping the skylight over his cabin and making his dressing-table on the quarter-deck, but he was an exceptionally tall man. Crowded life in a ship of that type was very far removed from comfort, but it was all in the day's work and there was then no "hard-lying money."

The first service she was sent on after Raigersfeld joined was with a small squadron commanded by Rear-admiral Gell off Genoa, where the *Modeste*, French frigate, and two privateers were lying. Raigersfeld says that there were two frigates, but in this he seems to be wrong and to have included the frigate which the same squadron found a few days later in the Bay of Spezzia. His memory is certainly at

fault about some details, and his account of the capture of the ships at Genoa, besides being much fuller than that given by James (i., 97), differs from it in several particulars. He is probably to be trusted for the armament of the privateers, which were much more considerable vessels then James called them, and for the fighting and consequent loss on the part of the enemy.

His own Captain, Cunningham, was posted into the captured frigate, *Modeste*, and Lieutenant Cockburn, afterwards Admiral Sir George Cockburn, promoted from the *Victory* to command the *Speedy*. Cockburn had no opportunity of doing much in her, for the brig was recalled to Toulon for a refit, and when that was complete was sent to blockade Genoa. In February, 1794, Cockburn was posted into the *Meleager*, not into the *Inconstant* as Raigersfeld says. The *Inconstant* was the frigate recently taken at Spezzia, and before her capture had been named the *Imperieuse*. It is significant of the extreme rapidity of promotion in the Mediterranean fleet at this time that Raigersfeld should have been unwilling, when a lieutenant of only six months' standing, to accept Cockburn's offer to take him as second lieutenant of his frigate. The event proved that it would have been much better for him had he done so. This is the first occasion on which he refused an appointment, and it was the turning-point of his fortunes.

After running messages from Leghorn to Corsica and Gibraltar, and back to Corsica, the *Speedy*, now commanded by George Eyre, was ordered to resume the blockade of Genoa. While she was on that service the *Ardent*, 64, was mysteriously lost at sea. It has been known that she was burnt or blown up, but how or when has been undiscovered. Raigersfeld's account, however, makes it tolerably certain that she came to grief on the night after she weighed anchor from Cape Noli.

A little later the *Speedy* was captured by one of the frigates of the French Toulon squadron. The identity of the frigate is not disclosed in the naval histories, but it is certain that she was not the *Boudeuse* which afterwards captured the *Peggy*, for that ship was not one of the four which accompanied the squadron. Lord Hood's fleet chased Admiral Martin with the *Speedy* and other prizes into Golfe Juan, but was unable to attack him there owing to baffling winds and calms. Raigersfeld says that Hood ought to have attacked, taking for granted that he could ; but no opportunity of weather occurred for several days, and by then the French had so secured and fortified themselves in their position as to be unassailable. The incident is of considerable importance in the history of naval operations, for down to this time it was universally accepted that a fleet at anchor in close formation with its ends defended by batteries or otherwise secured against doubling, was virtually immune from attack. Martin accord-

ingly was not attacked when he had completed his defences, and it remained for Nelson to prove at the Nile that a fleet so placed could in fact be attacked with success ; but that success was by no means a foregone conclusion was three years later demonstrated at Copenhagen, and at Algeciras.

The *Speedy* was captured on 8th June, 1794, by one of the frigates attached to Rear-admiral Martin's squadron, which sailed from Toulon on the 5th. As an operation of war her capture was so small an event as to be barely mentioned in any English or French naval history ; but it is nevertheless of great interest from its connection with the infamous No Quarter Decree of the Republican convention. It is evident from his narrative that Raigersfeld was exceedingly indignant. To begin with, it was very bad luck to find himself a prisoner of war so soon after receiving his long delayed promotion ; and it was doubly hard to be taken as it were under false pretences, by a squadron which he was justified in thinking to be non-existent. " The fleet," he says, " sure enough was composed of those ships that had been reported to have been burnt and destroyed by the English before they evacuated Toulon, so that we were in fact taken by their resuscitation, and these ghosts of ships, though dirty, had a very warlike appearance." James Anthony Gardner has also placed on record the soreness that was felt at the reappearance of these ships, which he dubs the " Resurgam squadron " (N.R.S., " Recollections," 145). He complains that they " had the impudence to rise from their ashes like the Phœnix, or like the snake that had slept the winter, but on the return of spring appears renewed in youth and with new fury burns," and goes on to quote, appropriately enough, Virgil's " Qualis ubi in lucem coluber . . .," as Raigersfeld, with his antipathy to Latin, could never have done.

The greatest cause for complaint, however, was the harsh treatment received, both on board the French frigate, and afterwrads ashore. There is good reason to suppose that Raigersfeld was right in his belief that the first lieutenant was deliberately trying to work himself up to massacre pitch, apparently on general principles, because it was the time of the Terror, and because there was the No Quarter Decree of the convention. It does not appear that any special grievance was alleged either against the *Speedy*, or against Raigersfeld in particular. It will be noticed that Raigersfeld's account is almost entirely personal, he does not mention one of his fellow officers, not even his captain. But from another source we get a glimpse of Commander George Eyre (Richardson, " Mariner of England," 132) and learn that he, too, was impressed by his ill-treatment on this occasion. He was posted into the *Prompte* frigate in February, 1796, and at the end of May received on board the Governor, the General, and other principal officers of Sta Lucia on the surrender of the island.

"Our captain took none of them into his cabin, but ordered them screened berths under the quarter-deck, which hurt their feelings much. The reason for this was that when he was taken in the *Speedy* brig at the beginning of the war, the French not only used him ill, but likewise robbed him of his clothes." It is perhaps curious that Richardson had not heard that Eyre had very nearly been shot in cold blood when captured.

In order to carry the Decree into effect and to massacre prisoners of war in cold blood, it would have been necessary that the French forces, both ashore and afloat, should have a considerable proportion of terrorists among their officers. But this obviously they never had. Raigersfeld's experience falls in the Robespierre period—the *Speedy* was captured on the very day of the "Fête de l'Etre Suprême"; but even then both soldiers and sailors did their best to transfer the responsibility of carrying out the Decree from their own shoulders. In this they were successful: reference was had to Paris, and, fortunately for the prisoners, came to hand during the very short reaction against the prevailing blood-thirstiness. Nevertheless, there was no safety till after the fall of Robespierre, as is shown by the fact that the one massacre carried out in accordance with the Decree did not take place till 13th August, a clear fortnight after the tyrant was dead.

Raigersfeld refers to this massacre, but, as is usual with him, with an annoying lack of precise detail. The victim was a small merchantman, the brig *Peggy*, which was captured by the frigate *Boudeuse* belonging to the Toulon squadron. The *Peggy* was sunk, and her crew of eleven were shot in cold blood on board the frigate. The French historian who records the event (Brun, "Guerres Maritimes," ii., 261) finds it necessary to offer some excuse beyond a mere reference to the Decree, and states that the butchery was ordered in retaliation for the massacre by the English of the crew of the *Modeste* frigate, captured at Genoa on 5th October, 1793. This is certainly false, for the *Modeste* was taken with very little bloodshed, having lost out of a complement of 275 no more than one killed and eight wounded, and it is therefore not remarkable that the whole story of retaliation has been dismissed as a fable.

Raigersfeld's account, however, seems to suggest that the story of retaliation, as told to Brun and repeated by him, may have had a small substratum of fact. The *Modeste* was taken at the same time and place as two privateers, and these latter were cut out by the boats of the *Speedy*, one of them commanded by Raigersfeld himself. Now Raigersfeld particularly mentions that, though only one man was killed in the actual attack on the privateer which fell to his share, the rest of the crew jumping overboard and swimming for the shore, yet he found it impossible to prevent his boat's crew from firing at the enemy in the water. They fired, too, to some purpose, killing

some ten or a dozen of them. Remembering what the Mediterranean privateer was it is easy to understand, and even to sympathize with, the savageness of Raigersfeld's men : to men-of-war's men of that period the no-nation scoundrels who were found in those privateers were no better than pirates, and deserved no better treatment. It is quite clear that Raigersfeld did not think that there was anything to be ashamed of in the incident, or he would hardly have ventured, as he says he did, to point to his good treatment of the survivors as an argument why he himself and his men should not be ill-used.

The inference, from such of the facts of the case as have survived, seems to be that a report had gained currency in the French Toulon fleet that the capture of the *Modeste* had been attended by something in the nature of a massacre. Fortunately for the ship's company of the *Speedy* the rumour became twisted and garbled, so that the blame was fastened on to men who were entirely innocent, viz., the captors of the *Modeste*, while the real complicity of Raigersfeld's boat's crew escaped notice. Had it not done so it is more than likely that the demand for retaliation would have been raised on that hill-top above Golfe Juan, and the fate of the *Peggy* would have been anticipated by the crew of the *Speedy*. Truly the line which divided the *Speedy's* company from sudden death was finer even than Raigersfeld suspected.

The subsequent history of the *Speedy* is confused and obscure both in printed books and in the records ; but, as she achieved a fame out of all proportion to her size, it is worth while to trace it briefly. She remained in French hands till March, 1795, when she was recaptured by the *Inconstant* frigate, and soon afterwards was recommissioned without having been sent home. She was for a time during the spring of 1796 in the small squadron employed under Nelson on the coast of Genoa, and continuing in the Mediterranean fleet under a succession of captains, was commanded by Lord Cochrane from March, 1800. Her remarkable exploit in capturing the *Gamo*, Spanish frigate, came in May, 1801, and two months later she fell into the midst of a French squadron and was herself taken. A new ship of the name was added to the navy in 1803.

Raigersfeld's narrative of his captivity in France, after it was decided not to murder him, is vivid and interesting, but does not differ in principle from the relations of other officers who suffered the like misfortune. There is no doubt whatever that the French, naturally with individual exceptions, especially under the Terror, were brutal to their prisoners, and that the way of captives was hard. There is no reason to doubt the good faith of Raigersfeld's story, or the accuracy of the events and incidents which he records, but it cannot escape notice that his chronology here is lax to a degree, so

that care is necessary in deciding the sequence of events. He gives us to understand, for instance, that the news of Lord Howe's victory came to hand after he had been long a prisoner ; but this was the victory of the First of June, fought a week before Raigersfeld was taken, and it is impossible to believe that the news had not reached Toulon within some ten days of the return of the fleet to port. Similarly we gain a general impression that he was for a long time a close prisoner ; but in fact he was left at large, though apparently not on parole, from the time when the news was received of the death of Robespierre. And Robespierre was executed on 28th July, some seven weeks after the capture of the *Speedy*. The close confinement therefore lasted barely two months.

From that time on his imprisonment became something not unlike a pleasant holiday. He boarded with a sympathetic and attentive family, the head of which was an expert cook ; he had a companion, a large garden to enjoy, liberty to walk freely about the country, and good opportunity for his favourite occupation of drawing. In such a Capua, if its continuance could be guaranteed, a lazy or indifferent man might well have been content to remain ; but Raigersfeld was neither lazy nor indifferent, and when he observed from the passage of troops that some expedition was very shortly to be launched from Toulon, he decided that it was high time that he was on board the flag-ship that he might warn the admiral that there was mischief brewing.

His escape was well contrived, the manœuvre by which he eluded the coast-guard cruiser being distinctly ingenious, and, the distance being short, only a few days lay between prison and liberty. He does not, however, give details which will fix the date when he was able to join Lord Hotham, left in command by Hood's sailing for England on 11th October. It is near enough to say that it must have been about Christmas, 1794, which would make the total length of his captivity about six months. He returned home overland, and at Cuxhaven found the small squadron under Commodore John Willett Payne frozen in. It had come out to escort to England Princess Caroline, the intended wife of the Prince of Wales, and was not able to sail till 28th March. It seems that Raigersfeld sailed somewhat earlier. Following these experiences he was for some months sick and unfit for service.

There was also, however, the consideration that, now that he had come to England, he could not be appointed to a ship until he had been cleared by court-martial for the loss of the *Speedy*, and no court could be held until the return of his captain from captivity. Eyre succeeded in returning not long after Raigersfeld, and on 4th September, 1797, the court was held and acquitted them. Considering the circumstances of the capture this result was a matter of course.

After an abortive appointment to the *Pallas*, Raigersfeld joined the frigate *Fox*, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, on 27th December, 1795. She was employed under Duncan during the early part of the year in blockading the Texel, but one dark night the squadron they were watching slipped out with a strong fair wind and was not seen again in the North Sea. It had gone to the Cape, and on 17th August surrendered to Keith in Saldanha Bay. Raigersfeld had expected to find himself promoted soon after reaching the Cape, but, being disappointed, asked leave to go home. He was made first lieutenant of the *Revolutie*, 64, which had been renamed *Prince Frederick* by her captors, and sailed for England ; but as his captain was ill during the whole voyage, he was effectively in command. This voyage, his last as a lieutenant, was not rich in incident, the only one of importance occurring at the very end of it. He describes how when nearing home they met in the dark a mysterious ship which made sail away from them. The next day they fell in with Lord Bridport's fleet which informed them that a French fleet was at sea. This was Hoche's Irish expedition, which, at the time of the meeting, was badly shattered by stress of weather and was returning home piecemeal. Bridport's chase of a part of the French fleet was on 10th January, which dates the *Fox's* return. It is reasonably certain that the ship she sighted was the frigate *Fraternité* with the French commanders-in-chief, naval and military, on board. They had been knocking about at sea and never made Ireland ; such ships of their fleet as reached Bantry Bay were at a loss as to what to do in their absence, so nothing was done, and the ships after waiting as long as they dared, made the best of their way home. Lord Bridport did not catch the French fleet, or any part of it ; but what between losses from stress of weather and the capture of individual ships the enemy had much reason to regret the expedition.

The only other plum in this voyage is the entertaining account of the seamen's way of cutting up and cooking a shark, a piece of information not found elsewhere. It is to be hoped that Raigersfeld made a sketch of the row of men sitting astride of the shark and hacking away with their knives, and that his picture may come to light. Raigersfeld was again disappointed of his promotion on reaching home, and in disgust applied for leave to withdraw from the Service, but, as was usual with such requests in war-time, it was refused. He continued in the *Prince Frederick* during the mutiny at the Nore, and was fortunate enough " by various ways and means," which he does not specify, to keep his ship from joining the mutineers. On the 21st September of the same year he was promoted.

Raigersfeld's disgust with the Service seems to have arisen chiefly from the promotion over his head of a junior lieutenant from his

own ship, a man who may have had a "claim" superior to his own. He does not, however, enter upon the question of "claims"; and indeed it is not easy to see that he could with advantage have done so, for his service as lieutenant had offered him small opportunity of distinction. He was a lieutenant for only four years, and for six months of that time he was a prisoner of war. The only fighting he had seen was in very minor affairs: he had never been either in a fleet action or in a good single-ship engagement.

The way in which his promotion was brought about offers some points of interest. From a letter addressed by him on 2nd July, 1797, to Lord Grenville (Hist. MSS. Com.: Dropmore Papers, iii., 332) it is apparent that Count Starhemberg, the Austrian ambassador in London, had already been interesting himself in the question of Raigersfeld's promotion, as indeed would be expected. "Le lieutenant Raigersfeld," he wrote, "vient d'être échangé. C'était le seul chose qui s'opposait à son avancement. J'ose donc de nouveau le recommander à vos bontés, et à votre souvenir." It is possible that Raigersfeld *fils* did not know of this letter, for had he done so it seems unlikely that he would have chosen that precise point of time to offer his resignation.

Ostensibly, therefore, the promotion, when it came, was not so much the result of the recipient's service, which was merely respectable, as of his diplomatic connection and influence; and it is interesting too to note that in the latter part of 1797 Anglo-Austrian relations were neither stable nor cordial. Austria, for her part, was very sore at the manner in which she had been beaten out of the war, and made no scruple of alleging that the withdrawal of the English fleet from the Mediterranean at the end of 1796 was the prime cause of her failure; Great Britain, on the other hand, was anxious to know when and how certain loans were going to be repaid, and made financial proposals which the Imperial court stigmatized as Jewish. The details of what was, in fact, a very difficult and anxious position do not, however, concern this story; except indeed in so far as it seems possible that the younger Raigersfeld played the humble part of a pawn in the diplomatic game. If that was so, probably he did not know it; though, from what we know of him from his own confession, it is not in the least likely that he would have told had he known.

Count Starhemberg's letter introduces us to an interesting point in the procedure and rules of the Admiralty. Raigersfeld hitherto had been incapable of promotion "because he had not been exchanged." I have not seen the rule referred to, nor do I know when or in what circumstances it was laid down; but its working can be seen clearly enough from this and other available instances. Theoretically a prisoner of war was a prisoner of war until he was regularly exchanged, and as long as he was a prisoner he was ineligible for promotion.

One might have supposed that he was equally ineligible for employment, but in Raigersfeld's case at least that aspect does not seem to have presented itself to the Admiralty. If a prisoner escaped from captivity and returned to his own country he was regarded as being on the same footing as a prisoner released on parole that he might proceed home in order to negotiate an exchange. Until the exchange was effected the prisoner, though at large and at home, remained a prisoner, and therefore could not be promoted. It is extremely doubtful if one naval officer in a hundred knew anything of this subtlety : certainly Raigersfeld did not. His view of the case doubtless was that his escape wiped out the captivity, and that he owed the French neither thanks nor exchange ; and it must be admitted that the action of the Admiralty in employing him continuously with this exchange still hanging unknown over his head went far to justify his belief that that account was closed.

The case seems to be that the alleged Admiralty rule was in fact no rule of general application, but a convenient length of red tape whereby a promotion might be jammed if to grant it would be inconvenient or distasteful to the Admiralty. In the case of Raigersfeld we can see that there was no real reason, on account of services rendered, why the promotion should be granted ; and on the other hand its delay could be used to bring a small degree of pressure to bear on the Imperial ambassador. The good of the Service was affected in so minute a degree that it could safely be left to take care of itself ; while as to the sentiments and aspirations of the candidate, they simply did not count.

The further working and the ignoring of the " rule " can be well illustrated, curiously enough, from the subsequent history of the two ships with which Raigersfeld is most closely identified, the *Speedy* and the *Wolverine*. Lord Cochrane, who was by no means a *persona grata* to Earl St. Vincent, the then First Lord, rightly thought that the capture of the *Gamo* gave him a distinct claim to promotion. The promotion was delayed, inexplicably as it seemed to him, and when it came it was found that he had been placed at the very bottom of the post list, and that certain juniors, promoted for services, real or fancied, rendered since the date of his exploit had been placed above him.

Accordingly with his knowledge, and probably at his request, his father, Lord Dundonald, wrote to the First Lord analysing his son's claims, and requesting that he should be restored to his true place on the list. St. Vincent's reply was unfavourable. No report, he said, had been received of the capture of the *Gamo* until after the receipt of the news that the *Speedy* had been taken and Cochrane made prisoner. (To this Cochrane retorted that though the officer who should have forwarded his report had delayed it for a month,

still it had reached the Admiralty earlier than was stated, but that it had been deliberately pigeon-holed.) St. Vincent continued that until he had been exchanged, and until a court-martial had been held on him for the loss of the *Speedy*, "it was impossible for the Board, consistently with its usual forms," to promote him. That he had been promoted on the day when the sentence of acquittal by the court-martial was received; and finally that to have dated his promotion back to the time of the capture of the *Gamo* would have been inconsistent with the public duty of the Board, "a measure quite unprecedented," and "an act of injustice to other deserving officers."

The answer was a very pretty piece of casuistry, and Cochrane heaped scorn upon it as being "a subterfuge unworthy of Lord St. Vincent," a verdict with which most readers will agree. He pointed out that, even supposing that there had been the alleged delay in the receipt of the report of the capture of the *Gamo*, he was clearly entitled to post rank from the date of his acquittal, instead of from the later date when the acquittal was formally notified to the Board. As to the exchange, he said that he was never exchanged as the Admiralty understood the term, for there was then (as is well known) no system of exchange in force with France, so that if he had waited for a formal exchange he might have waited till the end of the war. As it was he certainly had the best of the argument, but he might easily have said more. He might, for instance, have asked the First Lord whether a commander-in-chief could do what the Board of Admiralty could not, and whether he himself had been guilty of conduct "inconsistent with his public duty," and of "an act of injustice to other deserving officers" when he promoted Robert Faulknor at Martinique in 1794 to be captain of the *Undaunted*.

The subsequent case of Commander Henry Gordon of the *Wolverine* demolishes the last of St. Vincent's arguments. Gordon was captured in the *Wolverine* in March, 1804, having made as good a resistance as was possible in so inefficient a ship, and was for many years a prisoner of war in France. While still a prisoner, and consequently before he had stood his court-martial, he was on 8th April, 1805, promoted to post captain. There was no sheltering behind a "rule" here; but conceivably there may have been a desire to divert attention from the shortcomings of the ship.

In his "Autobiography of a Seaman," Cochrane (c. ii.) contrasted the readiness of the Navy for war in 1793 with "that fearful system of naval jobbery, which unhappily characterized the subsequent progress of the war, crowding the seas with worthless vessels, purchased into the Service in exchange for borough influence." He himself had been sent by Lord St. Vincent to do penance in one of these ships, the *Arab*, a converted collier, and the experience did nothing

to mitigate the acidity of his criticisms. Raigersfeld's first command was another of them, the *Hermes*, a small ship suitably armed, but slow and leewardly to a degree. He was, however, more fortunate than Cochrane in that he was employed for the most part on duties to which his ship was equal, such as convoying the North Sea trade to the Sound and back, and afterwards to the Zuider Zee. He was serving his apprenticeship in command, and set himself conscientiously to learn his job. The first thing he learnt, while laying in the Thames, was that the merchantmen—coasters and colliers probably for the most part—which backed and filled their way up the river on the tide were abominably careless. They had no scruple in allowing themselves to be hung up athwart hawse of the *Hermes* as she lay moored, rather than be at the pains of letting go a small anchor, and Raigersfeld learnt how to kill two birds with one stone, how to benefit the King's Service and at the same time to stop the annoyance. The remedy was the simple one of pressing a few hands out of ships which indulged in these vagaries, and the mention of it is of interest as showing how the system of pressing was continuously going on in war-time, as a by-product of ordinary naval service, and quite apart from the more or less spectacular proceedings of the specially constituted press-gangs.

He learnt also that administrative boards and officers needed careful watching. This experience began with the Victualling Board, with which he had a difference of opinion on a question of the contents of the casks of spirits supplied. He found that the Victualling Office was putting him off with short measure, and knowing that he himself would be charged with the deficiency, he protested. His experience indicates that such protests, unless backed by a modicum of foresight and finesse, were little likely to be of effect; but he, careful man, had kept a trump and was able to win the trick with it. He afterwards, when in command of his next ship, had a somewhat similar experience with the dockyard officers, who hung up his repairs and periodically rendered false returns showing that they were carrying on the work with great activity. Them, too, he succeeded in weathering, but in a direct and uncompromising manner which reveals that he had no knowledge of, or at least no sympathy with, the indirect methods of getting things done which most commanding officers found preferable. Men talked of "capperbar" in those days where we speak of "wangles" now; but the method was foreign to Raigersfeld's nature, and he would have none of it. A moralist would say that he was undoubtedly right; an officer experienced in the manners and customs of the royal dockyards in "eighteen hundred and war time" would probably have said that he was asking for trouble.

He also had experience of the ignorance of North Sea pilots, two of whom tried hard to put him on Flamborough Head. This snare, too, he avoided by care and attention. There is plenty of evidence

of the incompetence of many of the pilots who at that time took charge of the King's ships: Gardner, for instance, met with two of them (N.R.S., "Recollections," 208) who as nearly as possible lost the frigate he was in. She had to cut away her masts, and was eventually saved only by a providential shift of wind.

> "For which a rope their necks should adorn,
> The damndest lubbers that ever were born."

Raigersfeld, writing for his daughters to read, did not talk like that. His words were "A pretty sort of pilot indeed; so I said as Cromwell did of Sir Harry Vane."

And, perhaps finally, he met with equal carelessness on the part of the Ordnance Office, which sent him shot which did not fit his guns. At the time no officers had been appointed to the ship, and the captain was discharging the gunner's duties as well as those of several others. He obviously plumed himself on having thought to try whether the shot fitted, "a thing I believe few others would have thought of." Possibly: but few captains would have to receive stores on behalf of their own gunners, and a gunner could probably be trusted to recognize a wrong size of shot by inspection. It is, however, difficult to see what the mistake could have been. The only shot in use bigger than 32-prs. were 42-prs. and 68-prs., both of them quite rare, and entirely out of the question for sloops. It seems on the whole more probable that by some accident the Ordnance had sent a batch of captured French ammunition: French lower-deckers fired a shot weighing 36 lb. French, and about 39 lb. English; but such shot were never used in the English Service.

Raigersfeld's next move was not for the better, though he seems to have been told that he might regard it as promotion. From the *Hermes* he was, on 29th October, 1799, moved into the *Wolverine*, another converted merchantman. Like all her class, she would not sail, and would therefore in any case have been very inefficient as a man-of-war; but the *Wolverine* was an exceptional ship in her class, and the points in which she differed from the ordinary run of such armed ships made her an even greater abomination than they were. She was a product of the fertile brain of Captain John Schank, a man of much mechanical ingenuity, which he had used to the good of the Service. But in the case of the *Wolverine* he attempted too much, and Raigersfeld was among those who suffered directly by his failure. The purpose was to make a formidable fighting unit out of a small vessel, and the method adopted was that of providing her with fewer heavy guns instead of more smaller, and attempting so to arrange matters that all the guns could be fought on either side. This was done by putting grooves, tramways, across the deck so that the guns could be readily transported from side to

side ; and then for chase guns there were two very heavy pieces. Raigersfeld says that in his time they were 24-pr. long guns, which were housed near the foot of the mainmast. When it was desired to use them it was necessary to transport them half the length of the ship. Admirable in theory, in practice the idea was a rank failure, because the guns stuck in the grooves and could only be shifted about with tremendous labour. Then there was the further very serious objection that when all the guns were brought to one side the ship heeled over so much that, unless the sea was dead-smooth, the water ran in at the ports. Raigersfeld, after a short experience of this paragon, decided that he could do no service in her, and that if put to the test she would prove " a very bauble and drown devil," as Phineas Pett said some 200 years before in not dissimilar circumstances. So he resigned his command, prophesying that she would come to a bad end ; and he did a thing that would have been highly indiscreet in a man to whom the Service was his living, he told the Admiralty what he thought of the ship and why he wished to be out of her. He may, or may not, have been surprised that he was not appointed to another command. Virtually this incident closed his active career. Thenceforward, with one insignificant exception, he was employed only in shore-going billets, and in them only at long intervals.

It probably did not much matter to him materially, for he seems always to have had comfortable private means, but as his heart was in the Service he suffered severely from the disappointment, and " from an over-anxious mind fell ill."

Raigersfeld was perfectly right about the *Wolverine* : she did come to a bad end. Before that happened she had a couple of minor actions to her credit, which tended to obscure her ill-qualities, they being both affairs decided by small arms and hand-to-hand fighting. The test was to come when she was forced to open her ports and attempt to fight her guns in a seaway. Raigersfeld left her on 28th June, 1800, and her day did not arrive till nearly four years later, part of the interval being accounted for by the Peace of Amiens. But on 24th March, 1804, being then employed on convoy duty, she sighted two French privateers which bore down on her. The larger of the two, a ship in every way of a force greatly superior to the *Wolverine*, attacked at close range, and at the end of an hour the *Wolverine*, being half full of water and rapidly filling, struck her colours. No sooner had the people been taken out of her than she went to the bottom.

Her captain, Commander Henry Gordon, was for many years a prisoner of war in France, and the court-martial on the loss of the ship could not be held until his return from captivity. It eventually took place on 22nd November, 1811, by which date it may be supposed

there remained but a languid interest in the affair. The minutes of the trial were never published, and have remained unknown: it has only been known that the court found that the ship had struck to a very superior force after as good a defence as she could make, and that the captain and crew were honourably acquitted. The verdict was a very fair one, but by itself is seriously misleading. Presumably the Admiralty liked it none the worse for that, having no desire that the shortcomings of the ship should be published to all and sundry; especially as they had by anticipation confirmed the impression created by the verdict by speedily promoting Commander Gordon to post rank while he was still in a French prison, though to do so was contrary to their own rule which was very generally observed. It is not to be wondered at therefore that the last fight of the *Wolverine* has hitherto been known only as an instance of a "heroic resistance against overwhelming odds." It was that, but by far the greater part of the odds was imposed by the marked inefficiency of the ship herself.

The ship's armament had been considerably lightened since Raigersfeld had her, especially by the substitution of one long 12-pr. for the two 24-prs. of which he speaks, but she proved herself quite unable to bear even this reduced weight, and the difficulty of working the guns had not been remedied. In his report of the action, which was put in evidence, Gordon described the helpless position of the ship from the outset "owing to the very lowness of the port-cells from the water, and the guns not working with that facility we had expected, the priming being frequently washed off, and the water rushing in even to the mouth of the gun"; and again "the guns often missing fire, and answering in other respects very indifferently." The evidence of a marine stationed at one of the main-deck guns was even more explicit: "When we hauled the ports up, the sea came in and almost washed us from our quarters." Which was exactly what Raigersfeld, and no doubt other men who had served in the ship, always said would happen. In the circumstances she did very well to go on trying to resist for as long as she did.

There is nothing more remarkable in this part of his narrative than his account of how, being frozen in in the Zuider Zee in the winter of 1799 to 1800, he sent most of his prisoners of war ashore, after carefully selecting the most healthy so that they might be eaten if the ship, already at very short allowance, could not get out. "I bound the surgeon to keep the secret, which he did." Raigersfeld was a resourceful officer, and his determination not to be starved into surrender was in itself laudable; but it is permissible to wonder what the Admiralty would have had to say if he had eaten those prisoners. It was in every way fortunate that the frost broke up, or probably a new and very ugly precedent would have been made.

Raigersfeld's later life does not contain very much of maritime interest. He married and settled down, and on 29th April, 1802, was promoted to post captain. He was not employed in that rank till 9th December, 1805, when he was given the command of the Maidstone division of the Sea Fencibles, a sort of coastwise militia designed to be employed in boats to prevent the landing of an invader. The force was first formed in 1798 on a plan drawn up by Sir Home Popham, and was reorganized when the war was renewed in 1803. The duties can have brought small consolation to an officer baulked of active service afloat, but they proved to be almost the best that the war brought to Raigersfeld. He was on half pay from 28th January, 1810, when his service with the Sea Fencibles ended, and had no further employment till 20th April, 1815, when he was chosen by his old captain, Sir Richard Strachan, then a Vice-admiral, to be his captain in the *San Josef*. Raigersfeld's way of telling how this ship came into the Service is somewhat quaint: she was, he says, "one of those taken by Lord Nelson from the Spaniards when the Channel fleet was commanded by Earl St. Vincent"; but, as has already been noticed, naval history was not Raigersfeld's strong point. He even went through life in the belief that Sir Robert Calder captured two French ships of the line off Ferrol in 1805.

He congratulated himself on this appointment, and no doubt had the war lasted it would have given him a good opportunity of service; but by the time he had fitted the ship out the *Bellerophon* came into Plymouth Sound with Napoleon on board. Raigersfeld was able to sketch the emperor, but even that opportunity was small consolation for the loss of his last chance. The ship was paid off at the end of August, and Raigersfeld returned to London and resumed his studies.

It is curious that he nowhere mentions his success as a painter, but between 1798 and 1811 he exhibited five pictures in the Royal Academy. In 1798 his subject was a "View near Aix," a memento of his captivity. In 1801 he exhibited two sea-pieces: an illustration to Falconer's "Shipwreck," "The order, boys, was given to bear away"; and a "View of Brest Harbour, the *Montague* forcing the enemy's ships to shift their ground from Berthaume to Camaret Bay, 16th August, 1800." This must have been represented from hearsay, as he was not off Brest in 1800. In 1809 his exhibit was a "Room in the Ancient Archiepiscopal Palace at Maidstone"; and in 1811 "A Sea-piece," with no further description of the subject. (From Algernon Graves: "The Royal Academy and its Exhibitors," vi, 1906, p. 227). After the peace Raigersfeld resided for several years in Austria, and it may be supposed that he then painted landscapes, but at present no picture of his of later date than 1814 has come to light. An unnamed sea-piece of that year, signed and dated,

is in the possession of Mr. Franklin Hall of Ruislip, who has been so kind as to allow it to be photographed for reproduction in this edition. The subject of the picture has not been identified, but even this small reproduction will serve to show that it is a spirited piece of much technical interest. A vice-admiral of the red in a two-decker, flying the signal for close action (No. 16), is leading a squadron of four line of battle ships, and altering course towards an enemy who is not in the picture. A frigate is passing through the line of the squadron under a press of sail to take her station on the off-side from the enemy. The signal is made by the code flags in use before 1799; but this cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that the subject of the picture is intended to be an event earlier than that year. Raigersfeld was little afloat after 1799, and even so had no service in a fleet after that year, so that by 1814, when the picture was painted, it may well have escaped his memory that the signal code had been altered in 1799 and again in 1803.

After his father died in 1819, his children then "being of an age to gain instruction by travelling," Raigersfeld took his family to Paris. His account of this "Voyage" is good guide-book material with some interesting notes of the financial condition of the country and the French character. A year or so sufficed to give his children the Parisian accent, and the capital was by then in a disturbed state, so the family returned to England and took up their residence at the house at Weavering to which he had moved a few years before. He mentions neither names nor dates, but seems to imply that he acquired the house directly after the peace of 1815 from the Earl of Romney, whose estate of Mote Park it adjoins. Weavering is a hamlet in the parish of Boxley which lies next to Maidstone on the north-east, and the house, which has for long been known as Raigersfeld House, is on the Ashford road about a couple of miles east of the town.

In 1822 Raigersfeld paid a long visit to Austria, and was so enamoured of the country and of the society to which he had the entrée that he returned to England only to take his family back to Austria with him. They took up their residence there for some five years, and were eventually recalled to England by Raigersfeld's appointment to command the Ordinary at Sheerness. His appointment was for three years, and was dated 10th November, 1828: the duties were administrative, to supervise the upkeep of the ships in reserve and command the men belonging to them. The Ordinaries were under the Navy Board and were therefore civilian, not military; and this made the post of superintendent a difficult one for a sea officer to hold, seeing that the kind of discipline to which he was accustomed afloat appeared to be very necessary but was impossible. Raigersfeld saw at once that improvements were necessary and set himself to make them: "To work I went, and what with lenient examples,

and one thing and other, the Ordinary was conducted into more reasonable order in the course of a couple of months." And there he leaves it, at the beginning of 1829. In 1832, a few months after Raigersfeld's appointment ended, the Navy Board was abolished, or rather amalgamated into the Admiralty Office, and the flood of administrative change also reached the dockyards. Raigersfeld was therefore one of the last batch of superintendents of the Ordinary. Whether he regretted the passing of the Navy Board does not appear : he had no particular cause to love it, but it had never done him one-tenth of the harm that the Admiralty had done, and in future it was to be a part of the Admiralty.

He had no further service of any kind, but in the course of promotion reached the rank of rear-admiral on 10th January, 1837, the appointment, though not nominally so, being virtually on the retired list. He was then not quite sixty-six, which was rather young as rear-admirals then went. He seems to have continued to reside at his house at Weavering, and died there on 7th September, 1844.

L. G. CARR LAUGHTON

SERVICES OF JEFFERY RAIGERSFELD.

(*P.R.O.: Admy.* 9 2–227.)

Several Bearings or Ranks.	Ship.	Admiral, Captain, or Commander.	Station.	Entry.	Discharge.
Captain's Servant and Ab. . . .	*Mediator*	Capt. C. Collingwood	W. Indies	28 Apr. 1783	3 Aug. 1786
Admiral's Retinue.	*Triumph*	Rear-adm. Lord Hood Capt. Jno. Knight	Portsmouth	31 Aug. 1786	6 Sept. 1787
Midshipman . .	*Vestal*	Capt. Sir R. J. Strachan	Channel and E. Indies	7 Sep. 1787	19 Feb. 1789
Midshipman . .	*Bellona*	Capt. Hartwell	Portsmouth	2 Apr. 1789	23 Feb. 1790
Midshipman . .	*Pearl*	Capt. Courtenay	Mediterranean	24 Feb. 1790	8 Oct. 1790
Supernumerary .	*Helena*	Capt. Woodley	Lisbon and Spithead	9 Oct. 1790	to about 9 Nov. 1790
Midshipman . .	*Victory*	Vice-adm. Lord Hood Capt. Jno. Knight	Spithead	16 Jan. 1791	2 Sep. 1791
Able	*Courageux*	Hon. Capt. Walgraver	Portsmouth	10 Feb. 1793	21 Feb. 1793
Ab. and Mid. . .	*Victory*	Vice-adm. Lord Hood Capt. Jno. Knight	Spithead and Mediterranean	22 Feb. 1793	3 Sep. 1793
Lieut. and A.d.C. to Governor of Toulon . . .	Toulon	Hon. Cpn. Keith Elphinston	S. of France	31 *Aug.* 1793 4 Sep. 1793	26 Sep. 1793

1st Lieut. . . .	*Speedy*	Capt. Cunningham — Geo. Cockburn — Geo. Eyre	Mediterranean and French prison	27 Sep. 1793	4 Nov. 1795
	Pallas			30 *Nov.* 1795	
1st Lieut. . . .	*Fox*	Cpn. Poulteney Malcolm	North Seas and E. Indies	24 *Dec.* 1795 27 Dec. 1795	24 Sep. 1796
1st Lieut. . . .	*Pr. Frederick*	Capt. Ed. Ramage	E. Indies	25 Sep. 1796	24 Sep. 1797
Commander . .	For Rank			21 Sep. 1797	
Commander . .	*Hermes*	Self	North Seas	15 Oct. 1798	28 Oct. 1799
Commander . .	*Wolverene*	Self	N. Seas and Channel	28 *Sep.* 1799 29 Oct. 1799	28 June 1800
Post Captain . .	For Rank			29 Apr. 1802	
Post Captain . .	Sea Fencibles	Self	Maidstone	7 *Dec.* 1805 9 Dec. 1805	28 Jan. 1810
Post Captain . .	*San Josef*	Vice Admiral Sir R. J. Strachan Self	Plymouth	20 Apr. 1815	30 Aug. 1815
[Post-Captain . .	Ordinary	Self	Sheerness	10 Nov. 1828	10 Nov. 1831]

Note.—This table is from a return of services called for by the Admiralty in 1817. The subsequent appointment to the Sheerness ordinary is added for the sake of completeness. It will be noticed that Raigersfeld misspelt some of his captains' names : Waldegrave, Pulteney Malcolm, Keith Elphinstone. When a double date is given, the earlier, in italics, is that of appointment.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	xlv
First Voyage	1
Second Voyage	37
Third Voyage	68
Fourth Voyage	83
Fifth Voyage	99
Sixth Voyage	159
Seventh Voyage	171
Eighth Voyage	184
Ninth Voyage	194
Index	207

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
Sea Scene, from a painting by Admiral Raigersfeld	*Frontispiece*
Admiral Lord Collingwood	16
The Midshipman's Introduction to the Berth	32
H.M.S. *Victory*, in the Downs, 1791	64
Sailors Carousing in the Long Room at Portsmouth	96
Uniforms of Naval Officers in Nelson's Time	128
Napoleon on Board H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, in Plymouth Sound	160
H.M.S. *Wolverine*	176

PREFACE

IT was from a wish to excite in my family the desire of observation for their individual advantage that induced me to write the adventures of my life from my childhood and first entrance into the Naval service of my country, which took place in April, 1783, (as a cadet, or midshipman) on board His Majesty's ship *Mediator*, of 44 guns, Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, where I might become, by application and attention, qualified for a sea Officer.

To an active mind the advantages derived from observing the daily page of indulgent Nature as it is presented to us all, appears so evidently intended for man's improvement, that I am frequently at a loss to account for the general supineness apparently so inseparable from man in most things he undertakes. This supineness places those having the advantages of birth and able masters to instruct them in useful knowledge, far below those over whom they are generally placed to superintend and to control: in this morbid state of inattention it is very strange that things go on so well as they do.

A longer apprenticeship, from these showings, is evidently necessary for all those to undergo who are in search of places of trust. *Activity*, zeal, knowledge, and honesty, are recommendations to these situations; but without good certificates from those under whom such applicants have been trained, or with whom they have served, they should not be received to fill any places under Government.

Trusting to the indulgence of my readers, I lay before them a specimen of the chequered life sea Officers are subjected to during their apprenticeship as Midshipmen of the Royal Navy, as well as their uncertain promotion during their tardy rise to senior Captains on the Post list.

In this little history are faithfully narrated most circumstances as they arose, without embellishment thereto or substraction therefrom; and although the occurrences may not materially differ from those of others of the profession, yet they may serve to stimulate young aspirants, or to amuse the declining years of sea Officers, after a life of honourable service passed in all quarters of the globe. I shall therefore conclude, earnestly requesting that no reader of these memoirs, and particularly that no Officer connected with the Naval service of his country, will consider any observation herein intended as personal to himself or any individual whatsoever. During my career and close observation of things in general, I am led to believe that all the difficulties man encounters in this life, originate principally from the general supineness of those placed over him, and I cannot help remarking that I have seldom seen what is denominated accident occur, which would not, if impartially investigated, prove such accident to have originated from ignorance, neglect, or design.

LIFE OF A SEA OFFICER

MY earliest remembrance is of my twin sisters, both of whom died whilst cutting their teeth; their death must have been within a few hours of each other, as they were put into one coffin, and placed upon one of the bracket tables that were fixed under the pier glasses in the drawing-room, where the aid of a footstool enabled me to peep into their coffin; this I did so frequently that my mother locked the door to keep me from so doing. I do not however recollect anything respecting their interment. Some short time after this, I remember my mother holding me in her arms, while Doctor John Hunter, the famous surgeon of that day, cut out from under one of my eyelids a large wart, that by increasing daily had obstructed my sight; and that after the operation I fell asleep, and upon waking I found myself lying on the sofa in the drawing-room, and near to me a small round table, spread for my dinner; and very soon after a boiled chicken was served, of which I ate heartily.

My parents considering me too young and weakly to be sent to a boys' school, being only between five and six years of age, I was sent to a young ladies' school on Paddington Green, where I was boarded. A Mrs. Derockney kept the school, and there I began French and dancing. While there, my mother came for me in the carriage every Saturday to take me home, and on the Monday following I was conveyed back again in the same way, accompanied with a box of oranges and other good things of the season. The box had a lock, and the key was tied to a loop in my clothes, lest it should be lost. After school hours, while my box of good things lasted, I daily collected my little playfellows, the young ladies of my own age, and made a feast of

part of the good things my box contained; this said box serving for a table, and seating them all around it, I peeled the orange carefully and ate it, after which I placed a portion of the peel before each, share and share alike, and when I had taken a bit of the peel from each portion to taste if it was good, I gave the word of command, and we all began to eat together, to the no small entertainment of the greater girls, who used to attend as servants of the feast, and being a great favourite with all of them, they instructed me during school hours in spelling, reading, and the use of the needle, and my bed-fellow always took care to dress me in time for morning prayers. In the room where I slept there were four double beds, and to the best of my recollection, between thirty or forty boarders at the school, from the age of four and five years old to seventeen and eighteen. The room I slept in was that of the oldest young ladies, and one of them took me by turns as a bed-fellow. Our breakfast was bread and milk; at dinner we were helped twice, but this very sparingly; and at supper we had bread and cheese, or bread and butter, and went to bed between seven and eight o'clock. At this school, there were two governesses, and a dancing-master attended three times a week.

I remained there about two years, and from thence went to Whitehaven, in Cumberland, it having been recommended to my parents to place me there as an excellent mathematical as well as a Latin school, in great repute in that part of England. My mother took me with her in a postchaise, and the only circumstance that made the least impression on my young mind during the journey was crossing Lancaster sands. On our arrival at Lancaster, my mother was told by the good people of the inn that we had time enough to dine and then to pass the sands without danger, and that a pair of good horses and a careful driver should be in readiness. Dinner over, I observed, although my mother was impatient to be gone, that the innkeeper seemed to hum and ha, saying it was spring tide, and as it was near flood tide, it would be more prudent to wait the ebb. We got, however, into the chaise, and just as we arrived

on the sands, we saw a stagecoach that was going the way we were, nearly as far as we could see right before us. The postboy observed that they would very soon be past the dangerous part; my mother asked him if he knew the tract well; he said yes, and had no doubt we should get over safe. For some time all went on well, until the track of the stagecoach was lost from the flowing of the water, which now began to splash under the horses' feet, and as the postboy seemed to go out of the line where I saw the stagecoach last, I observed it to my mother, who called to him: he asked where I had seen it last. I pointed, and he directed the horses' heads that way, rather more to the left than we had been going. The water now began to deepen apace, the carriage wheels being more than half under water. My mother again speaking to the postboy, told him to go back again. He said that he could not go back, as that would be impossible, begging her to be under no apprehension, as he hoped in a few minutes to see the marks on the opposite side, before the haze came on thicker, and then those marks would guide him exactly. The water now came in at the bottom of the chaise, and the postboy, as he begged us to put down the windows, appeared uneasy, but as it blew rather fresh on our left side, I did not think of the danger of our situation, being well amused at seeing the water splash every now and then over the backs of the horses and postboy. In this way we went at a foot pace for some time, and though the tide was coming in, we certainly were past the deepest part, as the water came no higher in the carriage than to wet our feet; at last it shoaled apace, and the postboy began to breathe; he then told us that had we been but a quarter of an hour later we must all have been lost, but now we were safe.

Until now I had felt no fear, but on looking round and seeing nothing but a wide desolate space of water running by the carriage, for it came on very hazy as the tide flowed, I thought we must have all been lost, as no one could have seen us or heard our cries had the chaise been overset. We arrived securely on the other side, and in safety, after two or three days, at

Whitehaven. We put up at an inn fronting the harbour, from whence we could see all the shipping, and while enquiries were making where to place me, my mother, to indulge me, used to walk upon the quays that formed the harbour, where I was delighted to see and be in the midst of the shipping. One day, however, as I was running along the edge of the quay, my foot slipped, and I fell into the water between the quay and a ship lying alongside of it. The accident was seen by a sailor on board, who, letting himself down by a rope, caught me, and brought me upon the quay just as my mother came up, so I escaped being drowned, and jammed into the bargain between the ship and the quay, with only a good sousing. This was the first time I had ever been drenched with sea water.

In about a week I was placed in a private family, named Peel, to board and lodge : they had been recommended to my mother, as fit and proper persons to take care of " young master," as I was called, and after every arrangement was made to my mother's satisfaction, she returned to town. The family consisted of husband, wife, three daughters, and two sons, all grown up ; one of the sons was blind. The wife kept the great day school of the town for little girls, from three years of age to ten or eleven ; these were generally sent for when school hours were over, but some who came from a distant part of the town, brought their dinner with them, and with these I used to play in the school-room between school hours. In the family I soon became as the youngest son, receiving every kindness as well as good example, for they were such religious people, that not a Sunday or Fast-day came that was not punctually observed. Three times a day I had to go to a Latin school, the master of which was a Clergyman, the Reverend Doctor Nicholson, where I began Latin ; and three times a week, in the afternoon, I attended a mathematical school (Mr. Wood's,) where I was taught to write and sum. This last school was much frequented by grown-up men, who followed the sea, such as masters and mates of merchant vessels, and others, who came there to learn navigation and survey-

ing ; and as I made great progress in writing, the master (Mr. Wood) very soon placed me at the desk near him, and my copybook was always shewn to such visitors as came there now and then to see the school, for it was in repute. As to Latin, at the classical school, I found it so dull a study, that what little I did learn was from the severity of the master flogged out of me. The Reverend Doctor Nicholson, though a Clergyman, was a terrible fellow at the birch, and being a very stout man into the bargain, he laid it on without mercy, and very often capriciously. The mathematical master, however, seldom punished his scholars, and when he did, it was with a small cane over the shoulders in order to keep them quiet. On Tuesday and Thursday afternoons I attended a dancing school, and making great proficiency under Mr. Adwin, the dancing-master, the mammas of the young ladies, who were of my own age, used to solicit the dancing-master to have me as a partner for their daughters upon the ball night, which was always given once a year before the breaking up.

At Whitehaven I remained a couple of years or more, and only went to London once during that time to see my parents, on which occasion a lady (Mrs. North) who was going up to London, made an offer of part of her carriage for me and the daughter of the people I lived with, provided half the expenses of the journey were paid. This was agreed to, and we set off, and were seven or eight days on the road. We remained at my parents' house in town six or seven weeks, and during our stay in London my parents took us frequently to the play, Vauxhall, and other places of amusement, and on a Sunday we drove in Hyde Park, and walked in Kensington Gardens, or St. James's Park. After remaining six or seven weeks in town, I with the young woman returned to Whitehaven, in the diligence. The diligence at that time was a large chariot, that took three persons, with a coachman and one person outside on the box, drawn by two horses, with a basket behind for luggage, travelling by day only. The breakfast and supper of all the family, except the man and his wife, where I lived, was porridge made of oatmeal, and it was

eaten either with milk, butter, or sugar, sometimes treacle; this was the general food given to children in the north of England, and I think very wholesome.

Whitehaven being a sea-port, many of the schoolboys had little sailing vessels, which, on the half-holiday, they carried to a pond, about a mile and a half out of the town, called Harrowthwait dub, where they sailed them. (Dub in this part of England means pond). I had a very large vessel, clinker built and lugger rigged; it was as much as I could carry, but so great was my fondness for this amusement, that I often played truant from the Latin school to sail my lugger in Harrowthwait dub, and being allowed a penny a day for pocket money, which in those parts was a very large allowance in those days, I used to bribe other boys of the same form as myself to go with me, and as none of the boys had near so much money allowed them as myself, I bought taffy, gingerbread, nuts, and other sweet things to distribute amongst them whilst our vessels were sailing on the dub, and as all my schoolfellows were fond of taffy, gingerbread, and other good things, I never was in want of companions to go along with me, even at the hazard of a flogging when we played truant. The good woman at whose house I lived had bought some very fine plums for her own eating; three of these she put carefully by in the pantry and locked it up, and as the pantry was close to the garden gate, by which I was constantly passing and repassing, my eyes were attracted by the three plums, and I began to think how I could come at them; at last I got a small stick, and tying a piece of thread to it with a crooked pin at the end, and putting it through the openings of the lattice work, hooked them up one by one. As good luck would have it, the plums were not missed that day, but the following day the good old woman made enquiries about them, and perceiving *Mr. Nobody* had been about the house, she said that she would have recourse to her own art; so after dinner, when all the family were present, she told them, after touching us all round about the head with her cane, that whoever had eaten them would have the marks of them upon their forehead, so begin-

ning with the eldest daughter, she lifted up the hair of her forehead, but no marks of plums were to be seen by any one. In this way she went on with all of them, and at last coming to me, with great solemnity she lifted up the hair from off my forehead, when all of them cried out together, " See, see ! there they are ! " I was so astonished that I began to cry, but as this was my first offence and promising to do so no more, no other punishment followed than my not being allowed any pudding next day at dinner.

In a small town like Whitehaven, scarce any occurrence takes place that is not soon known amongst those who move in the same sphere, and as my father had written to the good people with whom I lived, that I was entered on board his Majesty's ship *Lion*, of 64 guns, Captain Cornwallis, the wife, a good motherly body, thought it quite necessary to dress me in what she conceived a Naval uniform, which on Sundays and Fast-days I wore to church. Now this uniform made me strut at a fine rate, and I began to conceive myself a hero ; indeed, the ladies, as we came out of church, used to say, " Aye, there is young master in his uniform." A King's tender, which lay in the harbour, purposely to receive pressed men, commanded by a Lieutenant Cable, being the only vessel that bore a pendant, was often contemplated by me from the quay, alongside of which she was lashed, and it was there amongst the shipping that I first began to admire the hardiness of the seaman's character, and whenever the wind was favourable for vessels to come into harbour, I went to the quays to see them. If the weather was moderate and it happened to be low water, the vessels generally took the sand, furled their sails, and warped into the harbour as the tide flowed ; but if it blew pretty fresh at that time of tide, they let go an anchor outside the pier head, until there was water to float them in ; the bottom, however, being loose sand, they often drove when the wind was strong and came on shore broadside, which to me was a fine sight, as then the waves lashing the sides of the ship and the spray flying over her, all the sailors on board were apparently in confu-

sion, as well as the people on shore who were lending assistance.

These scenes for me had such an indescribable charm, that nothing escaped my observations, and I began by little and little to perceive and admire the hardships of a sailor's life. There were other schools here, and as the boys of each school were rivals to the rest, the scholars frequently met designedly after coming out of school at 12 o'clock, for the purpose of fighting it out, as they called it, when a round or two of fists making one or other of the parties give way, those retreating mostly ran through the town to the sea beach, much to the annoyance of such persons as happened to be in the line of their flight. On the beach a stand was generally made, as there the boys had only to stoop for ammunition, and many bruises and cuts from stones marked the combatants, and those who had retreated before often forced their assailants to retreat in turn, and these by another stand sometimes rendered the victory undecided, unless a timely separation put an end to the affray. Upon these occasions, I often reflected how the perseverance of one or two of the lesser boys, supported by their own party, (for these were generally in front of the rest) made the foremost of their opponents turn tail; and although remonstrances were often made to the schoolmasters, it was not in their power to stop these fights of their scholars, but such complaints checked the renewal of them for some short time. The sailors in those parts used now and then to have terrible battles with the press-gang, and upon the fifth of November, or any other memorable rejoicing day, would at night light the tar barrel, and carrying it round the town upon their heads, set it down before the houses of particular people, and there let it blaze until such time as money or drink purchased its removal, and these hardinesses did certainly stimulate the schoolboys to their stoning matches.

Whilst at Whitehaven, a great noise was made about Paul Jones, who, it was said, was on the coast with the intention of burning the shipping in the harbour, as well as to sack the town, and every preparation was

making to receive him warmly : cannon were dragged up the hills by the sailors, who volunteered their services on that occasion, as I have found they always do upon every other cause of volunteering when their country is threatened ; and I, as well as many other schoolboys, felt elated at being permitted to catch hold of the rope by which the men dragged the cannon up hill. Bransted Brow, and the heights above the town towards St. Bees, were soon decorated with forty-two pounders, long guns, and in about ten days, the bustle of preparation having subsided, the fears of the town's people began to abate as to any attempt Paul Jones might make, and in the security, cordial resistance found that ease which the consciousness of having fortified themselves as well as they could, always occasions ; soon afterwards they felt as though their ardour alone had driven that determined character out of the neighbourhood, although no one could positively say that he had ever been seen thereabouts, or even in St. George's Channel.

From Whitehaven I went to London, and there was equipped to go on board a frigate, commanded by Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, that was fitting out at Portsmouth ; and I was sent down to the Commissioner Martin's at the dockyard there, and remained at his house until such time as the ship was nearly ready for sea, during which time I was continually unlocking my great chest and then locking it again, which I could never accomplish without a couple of the servants sitting upon the lid, it being so crammed with clothes for a three years' station,[1] to the no small entertainment of the bye-standers. In about three weeks I was taken on board his Majesty's ship *Mediator*, of 44 guns on two decks, lying at Spithead, in the Commissioner's barge, with my large chest of clothes, which including ten pounds that was in it, in halfpence and silver, cost my parents one hundred pounds, besides bed and blankets that were bought for me before I left the Commissioner's. On my arrival on board, the Captain sent for the mate of the berth he intended me to mess in, and I found

[1] In modern phrase a " 3 years' commission."

myself consigned to the main hatchway berth. A hammock was slung for me, and my bed and bedding put into it. This was quite a new life, but I very soon got into the ways of the ship, and being only a child,[1] kept no watch, although I was told that I must be upon deck every morning by seven o'clock. A quartermaster was at first sent to call me, but, as he mostly found me up, I was soon left to myself. The place where I messed was upon the orlop deck, in a space left between the sheet and small bower cable tiers; a piece of old canvass was nailed up to the beams, and served as a screen to the berth, and my hammock was slung or hung up alongside the sail room over the spare oars, close to the forepart of the main hatchway on the larboard side. My messmates consisted of one mate, four grown-up midshipmen, a younker, who had been at sea, myself, and a blackguard boy, that served the mess as cook and all else besides.

At this time an attempt was made, by a person named Tracey, to raise the *Royal George*, and a party of men from each ship lying at Spithead were daily sent on board two line-of-battle ships that were moored close to her, to heave at the capstan and lighten the purchases, which were to bring her up. With the party from our ship I generally went, and all that I saw done appeared to me to be labour in vain, for the lower masts of the *Royal George* were at that time standing with the trussel trees on them, and although I always got upon them while they hove at the capstan, yet I never found any motion to warrant a movement of the ship, other than that kind of tremulous motion the masts were subjected to from the rapidity of the tide, and notwithstanding it used to be said, when the men were heaving at the capstan, "There, there! see, she moves, my lads!" "Heave and she rises, my lads!" Heave they did, until some of the purchase falls gave way, but no rising followed.

I had not been long on board before I perceived that

[1] By his birth certificate he was 15: later Admiralty records make him 12 at this time; and apparently he thought that he was 13.

my large chest began to attract the notice of those about me, whenever I went to unlock it, indeed, although it had been so well packed that when I wanted anything out of it, assistance was necessary to close the lid down before it could be locked up, it was not long before I could do this myself, for I began to lose my clothes, and no one knew anything about them; a leather cap which I usually wore in the day time, was frequently not to be found in the morning when I wanted to put it on; at last it struck me, that the blackguard boy of the mess seemed very quick at finding it when I offered sixpence to the finder; he then instantly went into the pump well, and in a little brought it up, sometimes wet, at others dry. In this way I was often gulled; at last, however, I complained of the boy to the mate of the berth, who took no notice of it, which soon convinced me that my complaining would do me no good; therefore, after a good crying when I was alone, I became more cautious when I went to my chest, and heedful of those around me. Whilst the ship lay at Spithead, a seaman by the name of Hickery was flogged round the fleet, by the sentence of a court martial, for desertion; and I was quite astonished when he came on board again after the punishment was over, to see in what a hardened manner he behaved, swearing such bitter oaths as made me, at this early day, quite afraid; nor could I ever afterwards see this man without feeling uncomfortable.

As the ship was soon to sail, the sea stock for mess was laid in; it consisted of a few pounds of tea and brown sugar, a couple of sacks of potatoes, and about sixty pounds of beef taken up from the purser, which was salted down and put into a small cask for to serve as fresh provisions during the voyage: our spoons and plates were pewter, a dozen of knives and forks, two cooking kettles, a frying-pan, and a copper tea-kettle, these with a dozen tumbler glasses, two decanters, and a dozen teacups and saucers, of the old blue dragon fashion, with a tin teapot, some celery seeds and onions to make pea soup savoury, was all the stock midshipmen at that time thought of taking to sea; and this was stowed in the lockers in the berth upon which we sat,

and all within the old canvass screen. One of the mess took it in turn weekly to wash the crockery ware, lest the boy should break any of it; but if such an accident befel any of us, we were to pay two for one. As to the mess things that I brought on board in my chest, such as tea, sugar, &c., they had been consumed long before for the public good, and my pewter wash-hand basin, the only visible remains of all my more than ample fitting out, was only mine when others were not using it. As two months advance of wages were going to be paid to the ship's company before she sailed, the Commissioner's yacht came alongside, and the bumboat people that came off were allowed to bring their goods on board; the main deck was appropriated for exhibiting their goods, and it became a perfect fair, where the sailors laid their money out long before they got it, and after the ship's company were paid, I was sent for by the Captain into the yacht, where the Commissioner Martin, then suffering of the gout, took a kind leave of me, recommending me to the Captain, and wishing me a good and pleasant voyage. I left the yacht, which immediately after went from alongside.

In three or four days after Commissioner Moutray came on board, with his family, and the ship left England, for the West Indies. Until now, I had felt no inconvenience, but no sooner were we out of sight of land, than I became so very sea sick as to be unable to assist myself in the least; indeed when crossing the Bay of Biscay, the waves ran so high, and the sea water out of soundings caused so bad a smell on board, from the rolling of the ship as it washed from side to side in the between decks, that had any one thrown me over-board as I lay helpless upon the gangway I certainly should not have made the smallest resistance; but when we got into the trade winds, which with little variation generally blew upon one quarter or the other of the ship as she ran her course, the motion of the ship became quite different and at the same time so easy that the violence of the sea sickness left me. Upon this partial recovery I went to visit my chest, but found it nearly emptied of all superfluities, and excepting three

or four shirts and a scanty portion of other necessaries, little remaining of all the abundant stock my parents had so carefully got together for a three years' station. What could I do? The key of the chest was in my possession, and it was locked when I went to it, so my loss was deemed fancy by those around me, and I was not only laughed at, but given to understand that unless I could prove my loss, my complaint would rather do me harm than good, and I wisely followed this advice, which certainly afterwards contributed to my not being made the general fag so much as I think I otherwise should have been, had I not followed it; so betaking myself again to climbing the rigging, attending in the round tops,[1] and observing the different shifting and trimming of the sails, I soon forgot my losses, and began to find that the passing observations, which I had made when at Whitehaven, became useful to me; indeed the officers appeared much pleased at my quickness, and I very soon became a favourite, not only with them, but with the common sailors likewise, and from being upon deck in the day time, the officers took pleasure in putting me in the way of instruction, and the ship's company individually readily shewed me the way of doing things.

Whilst the ship was running down the trade winds, the sailors generally had much spare time, and the Captain, in order to employ the men, directed that slops of light clothing might be served to the ship's company, which was communicated to them by the boatswain and his mates piping all hands to Monmouth-street.[2] These slops consisted of duck frocks and trousers; these the sailors altered to a kind of uniform, which the Captain chose to establish for the ship, and the watch off deck were employed at this every day, from nine to half-past eleven, upon the quarter deck, so that these alterations took up some time: and the

[1] Tops had ceased to be round nearly 100 years before this. The old term persisted among landsmen until tops (in the early ironclads) became round again; but it is remarkable to find it in use by a sea-officer.

[2] The contemporary "Petticoat Lane." It may be that the Monmouth cap, much worn by seamen in the 17th century and after, had its name from this street.

midshipmen attended at half-past eleven to take the altitude of the sun for noon. Now it so happened that at this time it was a fashion for your bucks of the navy to wear their hair tied in a pigtail behind, close up to their neck, and as some of the midshipmen in the ship were in a certain degree old stagers, of course they, as well as younger ones, were bucks in this respect. The Captain, a well read man as well as a clever seaman, took it into his head one day that he would like to see the midshipmen work their day's-work from their own observations before him upon the quarter deck; they did so, but only three or four out of twelve or thirteen could accomplish this with any degree of exactitude, so calling those to him who were deficient, he observed to them how remiss they were, and suddenly, imputing their remissness to their pigtails, he took his penknife out of his pocket and cut off their pigtails close to their heads above the tie, then presenting them to their owners, desired they would put them into their pockets and keep them until such time as they could work a day's-work, when they might wear them again if they thought proper. This *coup de main* afforded visibly an internal smile upon the countenances of all present, and I now have my doubts whether or not the date of crops may not count from that time. One day, making more sail, a man fell from the foretop gallant yard; in falling his heels hit the top rail, his head struck the main bowling, and his shoulders the break of the forecastle, and he fell into the waist;—all thought him dead; but in a minute he got up and went on the forecastle, and felt no hurt. He was the scape-grace of the ship.

A middling passage brought us in sight of the island of Antigua, and upon nearing the land, the signal was made for a pilot, who came on board and conducted the ship into English harbour. The pilot's name was Dominic; he had a wooden leg. Where no sooner anchored than she was crowded with negro men and women, as well as mulattoes, who brought fruit, bread, milk, and other things for sale. The dresses of the women were mostly of light striped cottons, extremely neat, their teeth very white, and from wearing their

head dress very high, their *tout ensemble* had rather a coquetish appearance, while their easy manners engaged very sensibly the attention of your bucks of the navy. The negro men seldom wear anything more than a shirt, trousers, and hat, although some sport a handkerchief loosely tied round their neck, a sure indication of a buck and favourite of the black ladies ; all of them, the black, brown, and mulattoes, go barefoot. In two days they became less numerous on board, and at last only a couple of boats attended upon the ship. They came regularly every morning between seven and eight o'clock, with milk, fruit, bread and vegetables ; these they bartered with the men for some of their ship provisions. The bread they brought on board, from being worked with leaven, had at first an acid taste, by no means unpleasant, and this in a few days was not perceptible.

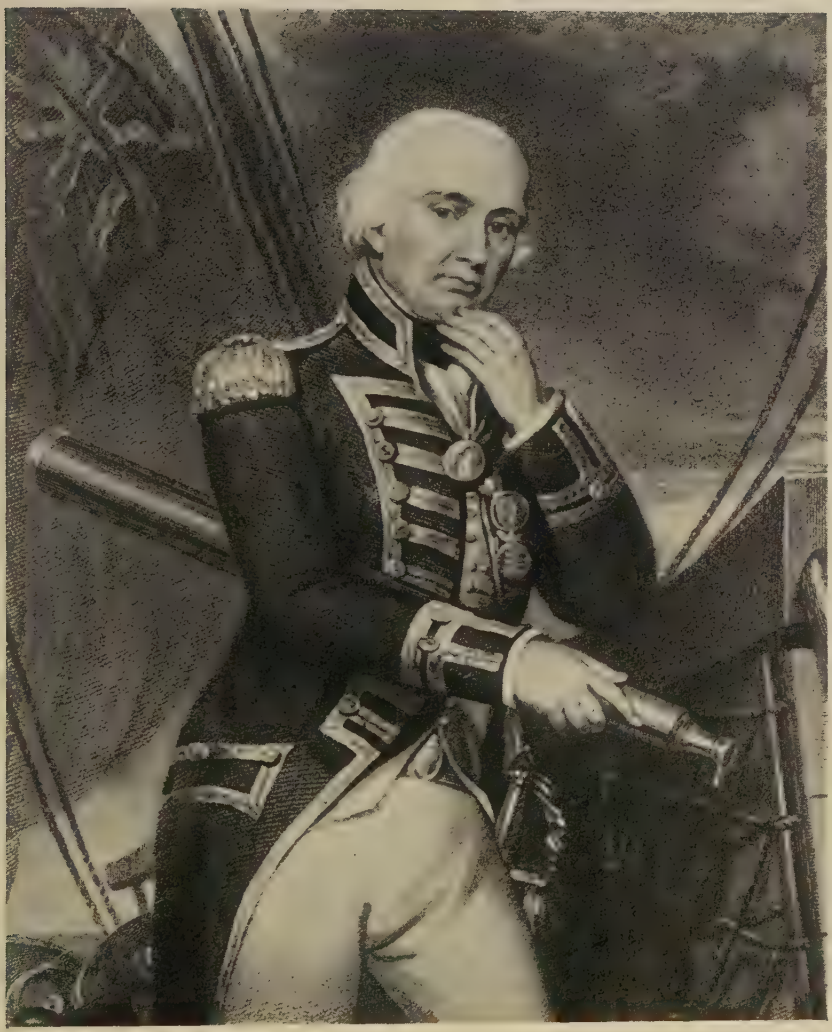
As the ship was to complete here, I went in company with some of the officers on horseback to St. John's, the capital of the island, and the first night I slept there, I was so annoyed by the musquitoes as to get little rest until morning, and when I got up my face was so bitten by these insects, that it appeared as though a full bloom of St. Anthony's Fire [Erysipelas] had struck out as upon one who was subject to it at the commencement of a forward spring ; the only application recommended to me was rubbing my face over with lime juice on going to bed, as by this means I might prevent a repetition of the attacks of this rapacious hoard of blood suckers, who never fail to make a hearty meal off Johnny Newcome, whilst a beef and plum pudding flavour is to be extracted from his veins.

Having a letter of introduction to the Hon. Rowland Burton, I remained at his house, a little out of town, until the ship's tender came round to St. John's, and during my stay there amused myself very well. Mr. Burton's house stood upon the declivity of a hill, and from my bedroom window I used every morning to see the negro slaves in a row hoeing the ground, as well as hear the crack of the negro driver's whip smacking upon their backs as they laboured in the field, better

than a mile off. The skin of a negro slave, when he is in perfect health and condition, is of a fine shining black; but when this appearance becomes dingy, it is considered as a sure indication that he is not in perfect health, so that the skin of the negro is in fact the pulse by which the negro drivers judge of their fitness for work.

The ship having now completed her wants, we made sail for the island of Barbadoes, and although it was a beating passage all the way, the weather was so fine that I felt little or no inconvenience from the motion of the ship. Upon our arrival in Carlisle Bay, we found the Commander-in-Chief, Rear Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, with a squadron of three or four men-of-war lying there; amongst which was the *Boreas*, Captain Horatio Nelson, on board which ship the pilot Dominic lost his leg, when attending to get her bowsprit out. During our stay at Barbadoes, the launch of our ship went every morning early, rather before four o'clock, on shore for a turn of water, and I always made it a point to go in her; and as she lay on the beach at a grapline, my great delight was to play about in the water, and the patroon of the boat, who was a black man, very soon taught me to swim and dive as well as play off many pranks while swimming. The launch carried eight butts of water, which generally required an hour to fill, for the water was led through a canvass hose from the beach into the boat, and during that time I had quite practice enough in swimming before she returned on board, where we generally arrived with the water in good time for the pipe to breakfast.

Barbadoes appeared to be a low sandy island, the bay where the ships lie is large and spacious, and opposite to Bridge Town, the capital of the island; and the water from its shallowness in the roadstead, wears under the tropical sun a beautiful greenish appearance, and as there is generally a fresh of wind about nine o'clock in the morning, the island is considered very healthy. The inhabitants however, the white men I mean, are subjected to very thick legs; whether this comes from the water or not I cannot judge, but they



ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD

(From W. Holl's engraving of the painting by Henry Howard, R.A.)

have an odd appearance, for their legs are as thick as their thighs, and although not attended with any pain or apparently much inconvenience, small sores come upon them, which I have been told, if healed, break out elsewhere, and should any of the matter from these sores come in contact with the shin of another person, it would be sure to cause an ulcer, which in this country is a most difficult thing to get rid of. A musquito bit me upon the skin, which itched so intolerably that I was continually rubbing the place; this brought on an ulcer, which, although the surgeon of the ship, a clever and experienced man, saw it twice a day, spread to the size of a shilling, and was not cured under fifteen months; it gave me no pain nor inconvenience, other than being disagreeable when dressed.

While lying here the mate of our berth went up into the between decks, and calling one of the men, who was some time in coming, he found fault with him for his tardiness, and upon the man's making him some answer, began to beat him with a rope's end; the man ran forward and the mate after him, when the men in the between decks began to cry out shame and hiss, which made the mate pursue him the more; the man at last however got away. This to me appeared very cruel, but afterwards I found that beating[1] men in that way was customary in the navy at that time, and that it was common for an officer to order a man to pull off his jacket, and subject him to be striped with a rope's end.

Our stay here was not long, being ordered to the island of Grenada, and as the course there leads by many of the other islands, it is one of the most charming passages possible, from the diversity of the scenery, and continual changes of the head lands; for the principal islands being in general high, their tops are frequently surrounded by clouds, and a strong sunshine causes such broad, deep, and defined shadows over their valleys, that the eye is kept constantly upon the stretch,

[1] Unofficial thrashing of this kind was known as "starting." It was prohibited by Admiralty Order in 1809 as a result of the court martial held on Captain Robert Corbet for tyranny.

contemplating the beauty of the scenery, whilst the ship glides by them almost imperceptibly over the smooth, clear, and polished surface of a sea, bounded by an horizon of water beautifully blue; and ere you lose sight of one island, another rises to view right in your course. Ships in warm climates have generally in lieu of butter and cheese, something else allowed to the ship's companies, and before the butter is quite expended, a certain quantity of butter and cheese is permitted to be taken up, upon account with the purser, by the midshipmen. Our mess got a firkin of butter, and when it was half out, the butter, which was at that time one may say oil, was so full of small hairs, that however often we washed it we could not separate the hairs from the butter, so we swallowed both butter and hairs, and every day as the butter got lower in the firkin the hairs became more numerous until we got to the bottom, where was found a mouse with all its hairs off, and as we continually took out the butter with a spoon, we suppose the hairs of the mouse became mixed with the butter; the poor animal, as we supposed, fell in after the butter had melted, and sunk to the bottom.

Upon our arrival at Grenada, that island was finally ceded to the English, and two French men-of-war, that were there, quitted the roadstead as we came to an anchor, and this was the first time that I had ever seen the white flag of France floating on the sea. As this was to be our station for the season, we frequently cruised backwards and forwards amongst the islands, every now and then returning into port to complete our water, which was done by the launch going daily to the *caranash*,[1] the entrance into which is over a bar of rock that rises within a couple of feet of the surface of the water, and when you have passed this bar you enter a large circular basin that is very deep, and near a mile in diameter, where on the right is a wharf, from whence by a hose you fill the casks in the boat. From this wharf begins a swamp, that runs some distance towards the base of the high lands that surround the caranash

[1] A sailor corruption of the French word "carénage," a careening-place.

and the inner harbour, the swamp is covered with sea water half a leg deep, and all over grow limes and guavas, as well as other fruit trees of the country.

During the filling of the water I generally waded to the fruit trees, ate some of the fruit, and gathered more to carry on board to my messmates. One day when climbing a tree, I observed large funguses growing at the upper part of their trunks where they divided and separated into branches. Curiosity led me to pick off these funguses, and I was agreeably surprised to find under them large clusters of oysters, with very thin shells, about the size of a crown piece, bedded together ; they had a most excellent flavour, and whenever I went watering afterwards I took some biscuit, and mounting a tree, lifted up a fungus and eat heartily of the oysters, and the men that could be spared from the boat followed my example. When this discovery of mine became known on board, it was who should be sent in the launches. As to myself, being the least midshipman in the ship, indeed the least boy on board, and a favourite with the mates, I went whenever I liked, not only in the launch to water, but in the boats that were sent to haul the seine in these fine sandy bays with which this island abounds, and where you find quantities of fish. The seine is a large net about fourteen feet deep, and in length fifty fathoms or upwards, with a large purse in the middle of it for the fish to go into ; this net is laid carefully upon a grating placed across the stern of one of the ship's boats, with a rope of several fathoms long fastened to each end of it, so that the net thus placed is quite ready for use. When the boat leaves the ship, another generally goes with her, and the fishing party get away early in the morning, so as to arrive at the scene of action before day-light ; here part of the men are landed who take with them one end of the rope that is fastened to the seine, and the boat then rows right off from the shore until the end of the net to which this rope is fastened is put into the water ; then the boat alters her course alongshore until the other end of the net goes into the water, she then alters her course again, rowing right towards the shore where the

men are landed with the end of the second rope; by this direction of the boat a semi-circle is described by the net, and as soon as the men begin to haul upon the end of each rope, the net is drawn towards the shore.

During all this time a couple of men in one of the boats go to the back of the net, and keep beating the water with the oars and making all the noise they can to frighten the fish towards the shore, and prevent their jumping over the corks that float the net. As soon as the ends of the net are drawn on shore, some men go into the water, and keep treading down its foot-rope, to prevent the escape of the fish, that cannot now well get away without springing over it, or breaking through the meshes, which, unless a shark happens to be enclosed, they cannot well accomplish; but the shark by its endeavours to break through the net generally forces it up from the bottom, and then the small fish often get under and escape. The shark, however, most commonly, when he finds himself enclosed, will remain perfectly quiet until the net comes close to the shore, and then by one desperate effort rends the net asunder, gets away, and often drags a good piece of the net with him; but if he is perceived to be therein by the men in the boat at the back of the net in time, which is generally known by the agitated movements of the other fish, they in such a case most commonly lift the foot rope off the ground and let the shark escape. The fish caught are brought on board, and distributed to the officers and men as far as they go, and the next day the distribution begins where it left off the day before, by which partition the whole of the ship's company get a portion of the fish that are caught.

So very seldom was it that fresh provisions could be had at this time in the West Indies, that the captain of the hold used to catch rats, (of which there was an abundance in the ship,) in the night, and by eight in the morning, generally four or five rats were ready cleaned and spread out as butchers dress sheep for the inspection of amateurs; and those who purchased the rats for a relish, had only to pepper and salt them

well, broil them in the galley, and they were found nice and delicate eating; so that this captain of the hold's fishing, for he caught them by a hook and line, became a source of profit. As to the rats, they fed off the best of the ship's provisions, such as biscuit, flour, peas, &c. and they were full as good as rabbits, although not so large.

It was when becalmed under the lee of this island, Grenada, that a large West Indiaman left the port to proceed to England; she was bringing up a breeze with her, and when at the distance of about a mile from us, the breeze leaving her, she as well as ourselves lay quite becalmed; most of our ship's company, as well as myself, at that time were looking at her, when, in an instant, her three masts were carried away by the board, by the force of a sudden squall of wind that came from the land. We immediately sent our boats to her assistance and towed her into the harbour, a wreck, which she had left only about three hours before loaded, and in perfect condition for the voyage. Such gusts of wind are frequent in calm weather under the high lands of these islands, and unless a particularly good look out is kept, they come so suddenly that you must let all fly at the instant, else accident may happen, as the surface of the water scarce shows any appearance of the approach of these perpendicular squalls until its effects are felt upon the sails, and then it is often too late. A hand pump that was called the ventilator, fixed abaft the manger board upon the lower gun deck, being continually worked by the sculkers in the middle watch for a couple of hours, I had often considered as useless, but accident soon however convinced me to the contrary. The boy of the mess, named John Knott, used clandestinely to hide my leather cap, but upon offering a bit, (a piece of silver stamped with a G.) at Grenada, to any one that would find it and bring it to me, would go down into the pump-well as usual, and in a little bring it up. In this way I was often gulled; at last, however, the boy on one of these occasions staid longer than usual in the pump-well, and the mate of the berth, (since one of the muti-

neers in the *Bounty*,[1]) named John Mills, who used to stand by and enjoy the joke, for reasons that will appear in the sequel, observed with an oath "he's stifled;" down he went, and a quartermaster with him, with a light; the quartermaster messed in the heart of the cable tier on the opposite side. Up they lugged the boy, who sure enough was all but gone, and it was some little time ere he recovered, but no cap came up, that only made its appearance some time after by the chain pumps, when pumping out the ship. Now the reason why the mate of the berth, John Mills, winked at the boy's roguery and enjoyed it, proceeded from his stomach, for on fresh beef days, Saturday, the mess allowance was on Sunday roasted for dinner.

Another younker and myself, too small and insignificant to have any weight in the affairs of the mess, except that of cleaning the glasses and boiling the tea-kettle, were always told, when anything fresh was for dinner, after we had laid the cloth and prepared all things necessary for the meal, to go upon deck and see what was going on; therefore, obedient to the terrible mandate of this master's mate, whose fist was what was termed a shoulder-of-mutton one, up we went, and the boy of the mess who attended about this time to see if the things were properly laid, understanding the cue of the old master's mate, did immediately we were out of sight go into the galley, unstring the meat, put it on a pewter dish and sliding down a man rope that was fixed to a stancheon at the fore part of the main hatchway on the lower gun deck, deposit safely the roast meat on the table before this John Mills, the lord of the berth, where, surrounded by pewter plates, (all of which were mine as well as the dish, the crockery of the mess having gone to leeward in a gale of wind when crossing the Bay of Biscay,) John Mills fell to, and when the sharpness of his appetite began to blunt, then, and not till then, he sent the boy for the youngsters to come down to dinner. The boy, knowing his cue, always seemed as though the haste he made in the execution of his orders put him out of breath, and that it

[1] April 28th, 1789.

proceeded from his eagerness for us to get down ere dinner was cold; then down we went by the man rope, for in those days there was no main hatchway ladder, and as we advanced to the table, the old hypocrite Mills used to say, "I have been waiting for you, and be d——d to you, until dinner is almost cold, you young bears." Yes, thought we, after having experienced a few of these waitings, you have for us, but not for the meat which appears severely gashed. At last this treatment schooled us to knowledge, and sometime after we became more than a match for the old master's mate and the rest of our messmates who used us so unmercifully, but as I never made any complaint, I was never refused to go on watering, fishing, or any boat excursions which I preferred to fresh beef.

As the hurricane months were approaching, the ship sailed for Prince Rupert's Bay, in the island of Dominica, to wood and water. This bay is large and deep, with a fine beach all around it. Here we completed our wood, and as the hills are very high, the river from whence the water was filled is abundantly supplied. The process of filling was as follows: The casks were landed from the boats and rolled to a deep part of the river, filled and bunged up; they were then rolled down again into the salt water, when the men floated them, and fastening them one to the other, they were towed on board, and as the wind blew off shore, the boats were soon alongside the ship, which was at anchor between two and three miles off shore, in nearly sixty fathoms water, so very clear that the anchor could be seen distinctly lying at the bottom. This bay is beautiful, and from the height of the surrounding land has always a sombre appearance; all round its shores were fruit trees loaded, here likewise the mahogany tree grows to a great size, and there is a tomb called Prince Rupert's tomb,[1] it is of brick, of an oblong form, with a large flat stone placed upon its top; the tomb is about two hundred yards from the water's

[1] Rupert died in Westminster thirty years after his visit to the West Indies, and was buried in Henry VII's Chapel.

edge, and a short mile to the right of the river from which our water was filled.

About the time we were here, a negro man, I was told, was condemned to be hung in chains alive; he was stripped naked and enclosed in a cage, wherein he was seated, and so pinioned that from this posture he could not move to rise; at the height of his face were placed spikes, about three inches long, pointing inwards, and outside the cage, behind the spikes, a loaf of bread was fastened, which, as the man became hungry, the spikes prevented his mouth from touching. The cage was suspended by a chain and hung upon a high gibbet, where the wretched negro condemned endured the scorching rays of a tropical sun during the day, and the heavy chilling dews of night, until Death, the friend of man, freed him from a world of trouble. A couple of negro men, armed, kept guard about the gibbet so long as the shrieks of the wretched slave continued to ring upon the ears and chill the minds of those within the echo of his sufferings, which were heard a great way off in the calm still nights of a tropical climate under the high lands of the islands; in the day, the numerous insects a hot climate generates attacked him long before death; after which birds and insects disencumbered the bones of their flesh, these separating, dropped through the cage to mix again with earth. The man was still hanging when I was there.

From this we sailed to English harbour in the island of Antigua, where, being land-locked, ships lie in safety during the hurricane months. The biscuit that was served to the ship's company was so light, that when you tapped it upon the table, it fell almost into dust, and thereout numerous insects, called weevils, crawled; they were bitter to the taste, and a sure indication that the biscuit had lost its nutricious particles; if, instead of these weevils, large white maggots with black heads made their appearance, then the biscuit was considered to be only in its first state of decay; these maggots were fat and cold to the taste, but not bitter. This was at the conclusion of the American war, so it was not possible to remedy the evil directly, indeed a great

quantity of biscuit was on hand, and as it is generally the result upon a survey at sea, to condemn bad provisions and throw them overboard, it would certainly have been done with this biscuit had it not been known no better were to be had. Whilst here, generally of an evening, the ship's company had permission to bathe alongside after the decks were cleared up, and it was very amusing to see with what alacrity the men stripped and plunged into the water, some from the fore part of the ship, whilst others, running up the fore rigging, would leap from off the fore and fore-top sail yardarms into the water feet foremost. One of the men used to go off the fore-top gallant yardarm, a height of more than a hundred feet; and as there were stages alongside for the caulkers to caulk the ship's bends, I was constantly bathing from them five or six times a day, so that at last I became as good a swimmer as any on board, and no one except the man who jumped from the top gallant yard surpassed me, nor would he probably have done so had not the officers forbidden my attempting it. The black man, however, who taught me to swim, excelled in diving: he would go from the spiritsail yard head foremost into the water, and passing under the ship's bottom, come up at the gangway on the opposite side. This I could not do, but when a saucer or earthen plate was thrown overboard, I would, when it had sunk several feet, plunge in head foremost from the main chains, and opening my eyes under water, grasp the object as it was sinking and bring it up. The want of breathing under water is very much felt at first, but by habit you acquire a manner of retaining your breath so as not to feel alarmed, fearing you should be forced to draw it under water, which, if you were, I believe the rush of water into your nostrils and mouth would nearly stifle you for the moment, and unless assistance were at hand, most likely death would follow a second attempt to do so under water. The instant, however, you cease to persevere in diving, a single stroke of your hands and feet brings you directly to the surface, and you seem to rush upwards with an impetuosity that makes the

water whiz as you rise ; the diver, knowing this buoyancy of his body, feels under no apprehension on that head.

A young midshipman of the mess I belonged to, who was not only bigger than me, but had been a shipmate with three of my messmates in a former ship, used to put upon me, and though we had two or three battles with fists, there was a something after they were over that told me I had not had quite fair play, therefore I was determined to right myself whenever a favorable opportunity presented. This offered before long, for going below one afternoon, I found my gentleman alone as I thought in the berth, so taking down a couple of hangers that hung there, and desiring him to take one, I drew the other, and did all I could to provoke him, but he would not unsheath the one I gave him. During this, all of a sudden I was knocked down from behind by one of the oldsters of the berths, who overhearing my defiance, rose from his afternoon nap, and came upon me unawares. The whole of this affair, however, soon got wind in the ship, and although some of my messmates blamed me, I found that my conduct was generally commended through the ship and from that time the continual fagging I used to be made to undergo ceased as it were by magic, and I not only did no more than my share, and that only in my turn, but I found myself of more general importance in the estimation of my shipmates.

On a Sunday the black men and women were generally more numerous on board than upon other days in the week, and in the afternoon of Sunday, this being negroes' holiday, they amused themselves and the ship's company by dancing Bange. It is very amusing to see the females on these occasions mark their approbation of a favourite dancer, by taking the handkerchiefs from their sides and tying them round his head every time he makes any of their favourite steps, so that a fortunate dancer has frequently as many different handkerchiefs knotted round his temples as there are females who have some little fancy of their own, and at last the *fair* ones are obliged to make use of pins from their dresses to fasten upon him marks of their manifold

perceptions, and before the dance is completed he is sometimes actually blinded by these harmonious offerings; nor is the hero less unconscious of his happiness, for he alone keeps up the dance, but the females relieve each other when they feel fatigued, until such time as he absolutely drops into the lap of some one of his female admirers, and upon his exhaustion an involuntary burst of applause follows to crown his exertions.

When the season of the hurricane months was past, the ship left English harbour for the island of Barbadoes, and upon the passage, near the island of Deseada, was becalmed the whole night, but at day-light next morning, there was such an appearance of approaching bad weather, that an additional reef was taken in the topsails and the courses hauled up, although it was calm. About one o'clock the horizon appeared so very black that many of the watch below came up to observe it, nor was it long before the edge of the horizon was covered with a white foam, which advanced with such rapidity, that although the hands were instantly turned up to shorten sail, the ship was upon her beam ends before they could well get up the hatchways, and the men who were stationed at the topsail haulyards found great difficulty to let them go, the ship heeling so that the yards would not come down until brought down by the downhaul tackles; this lasted about five minutes, the wind howling in the rigging all this time to that degree you could not hear any orders that were given, a dead calm ensued, and then the rain fell in torrents, and flashes of lightning followed each other without intermission, with peals of thunder so loud that the whole seemed like an incessant roar of heavy ordnance discharging at your ear. During this awful time great part of the ship's company had involuntarily assembled under the half deck, as well as the live stock of sheep and goats all huddling together, anxiously expecting a result, and as no one person spoke to another, to me, as a boy, it had an awful appearance; at last, in about the space of half an hour, a terrible crash took place in the fore part of the ship, accompanied by a tremendous explosion and

stench of sulphur; deep groans followed,—sixteen men upon the main deck were knocked down, some were apparently dead, and others groaning; relief was instantly afforded, and in about four hours after all were well again. A lightning ball [1] had struck the fore topmast, and running down the foremast, passed into the pigsty,[2] and through the galley into the waist, where it burst and overthrew seventeen men; eleven pigs in the sty before the mast were killed, belonging to the Captain; the silver buckles in the shoes of the gunner were melted into wire, and himself was knocked out of the roundhouse forward.

The ship's company were employed the whole of the night in fishing [3] the foremast, getting up a topmast, and putting the ship to rights, and the next day the dead pigs were distributed to the different messes; a roaster fell to our lot, and we all made a very good dinner from it, and considered it as a God-send. The way I accounted for the lightning hovering about the ship after the squall had passed, was our not being nearer the island, which otherwise would, as the larger body, have drawn the electrical fluid from us, and then probably we should have escaped its fury, but as it was, the ship from her size and distance from the land, had mass sufficient to retain it within the focus of her attraction, for it remained playing about her until she was struck. In a few days after the ship arrived at Barbadoes, the Captain sent his clerk on shore with me to buy some clothes, of which I stood very much in need.

From Barbadoes, as our foremast was well fished, we were ordered to cruise and visit the different islands in the West Indies, called Leeward Islands; and upon the return of the hurricane months, the ship went

[1] The only lightning-conductor supplied to the Navy at this date was carried in a box, and was supposed to be put up when a storm was coming on. It remained in its box.

[2] The pigs lived right forward, under the forecastle, until 1798–1800, when Lord St. Vincent turned them out and established the ship's hospital in their place.

[3] Fishing a mast or spar is like putting splints on a broken limb.

again to English harbour, where she was hove down,[1] got a new foremast, and completely refitted. The butcher of the ship, a very stout man, having an exceedingly thick neck, one day, while the ship was fitting, came on the quarter-deck in rather a reeling state; he was ordered below, and desired to keep clear of the quarter-deck hatchway, but in endeavouring to avoid it he pitched down head foremost, and fell on his head on the orlop deck, the fourth deck below; he got up unhurt, but was perfectly sobered. Men-of-war, when lying secure in port, have seldom more than the midshipmen, quartermaster, and sentinels of the watch upon deck in the night time, and all may by ten o'clock be said to be dead on board excepting these, who, what with the oppressive heat and singing hum the lizards make on shore during the stillness of calm which pervades night in tropical climates, find it very difficult to keep their eyes open. To this inarticulative hum, I have, often when upon watch, no creature moving but myself, listened with pleasure, as it seemed to tranquillize all the little anxieties which as a boy I used now and then to feel, for I was without even a companion to whom I could look for a cheering smile to alleviate my almost friendless situation; there were none so young as myself on board; the older midshipmen had nothing that drew me towards them; to the captain or officers, no one in my situation could unbosom himself. Such was my lot at this early age, and had it not been for an active mind, incessantly thirsting after knowledge, and a body almost incapable of fatigue, I verily believe I should have sunk under the early education of my profession, but notwithstanding I am glad that it so happened.

In the West Indies, the fuel made use of on board a ship is wood, among which varieties of insects are brought, such as scorpions, centipedes, and tarantulas, with now and then a few snakes; these soon begin to crawl all up and down the ship, even into the ham-

[1] A ship was hove down or careened, that is inclined as much as possible on her side, when her under-water body needed repair, and there was no dry dock available.

mocks, and the men frequently got stung and bit by them, and although their venom is not dangerous, yet it causes inflammation and much pain. The men, however, when they caught any of these creatures alive, put them into a bottle that contained rum; in this they vomited their poison and died, and whenever any person was bitten by any of these animals, the bottle was shaken and the wound rubbed with the liquor, and this, applied immediately, seldom failed to cure. The scorpion often afforded entertainment to the men, for being easily provoked, it was soon made to vent its rage upon itself to its own destruction, in the following manner:—When one of these were seen, a small piece of wood was held right over its body, it instantly erected its tail, by which the venom is communicated, and on making a feint of hitting it, it darted its tail with such violence at the bit of wood that it struck itself, and in the course of a couple of minutes its own venom would render it giddy, it would then go round and round in a small circle, decreasing its circumference, and in a few seconds cease to exist. The centipedes are inoffensive, unless purposely irritated. When one of these were seen crawling about, a man would lay his hand down upon the deck in its way and let the insect creep up his bare arm as high as it could go, until the shirt sleeve, that had been previously tucked up, stopped it, when it would endeavour to get off the arm the way it came on; but if the man took his hand from the ground the creature would become agitated, and unless he put his hand down again, would drop off without doing the least hurt. The centipede's venom is communicated by its bite; many men lay their finger on its head whilst creeping, and keeping it there by gentle pressure, prevent its doing them any harm, although its body keeps twisting backwards and forwards about the finger that holds it down.

When cruising amongst the islands we often gave chase to Mugen [Bermudan] schooners, that frequent these parts; they bring cattle and other merchandise to the islands, but as they all sail exceedingly well,

and in squalls always out carry other vessels, as well as lying nearer the wind, we could never come up with them unless they chose to bring to or shorten sail. To most of the other islands we paid a visit at different times, staying at each a few days, and generally hauled the seine, and amongst the fish we drew on shore, none struck me so forcibly as the torpedo, which is shaped like the skate, though much darker and more unsightly; on touching it with a stick, in the space of a third of a minute, with a sudden motion of its body it communicates a shock resembling that which I have received when electrified, and this each time fainter for two or three times, after which the shock is not felt unless touched with the hand, and then only for once or twice in a small degree. We generally killed these fish and left them upon the sand supposing they were not good to eat.

This winter, during the hurricane months, the ship remained in the harbour of Grenada, where, when the sun shone strong, between eleven and one, a fish, which the sailors called the guard-fish, afforded much sport; it is round, from a foot to eighteen inches long, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter in the thickest part of the body, with a mouth like the sword-fish, better than a quarter of its length; they most commonly kept playing close to the surface of the water, some little distance astern of the ship, and would spring out of the water a distance of twelve or fourteen feet to seize a bait, and being very powerful for their size, they now and then carried away the line; their back bone is quite green, and the flesh next to it partakes of this cast, they are however very good to eat, and we were always tempting them to spring when they sported. The rain was almost incessant here during this season, and the thunder and lightning tremendous, but the height of the surrounding hills in a great measure secured the shipping.

While we lay here, the fort, which stands upon a hill commanding the entrance of the harbour, was struck by lightning, and one of its magazines of powder was blown up; the force of the explosion threw several pieces of the rock some distance into the water and

parts of it fell within a short distance of the ship. The oranges here are finer, larger, and generally more juicy than those of the other islands the ship visited; and the shaddock, or forbidden fruit, both white and red, is large and fine, and of particularly high flavour, and is from eighteen to nineteen and twenty inches in circumference; but not so the pine apples, they being larger and finer at Antigua, where they grow in the hedges, and where, when one feels thirsty, it is only to take the trouble to choose which of a cluster of pines you prefer, and cut and eat it: not as is done in England, after paring them so thinly that many of their prickles are left sticking in its flesh, and unless you eat the stinted morsel of the hot-house with care, your throat may be tickled to coughing, a result not quite agreeable. Your Johnny Newcomes, who arrive fresh to the West Indies, when a shower of rain falls, are very apt to seek shelter under the fine spreading trees that grow by the roadside, some of which are poisonous, particularly the Machineel, so that if the rain which runs off it drops upon your skin, a blister rises that becomes troublesome if not taken care of. The apple of this tree, although fine to look at, is very dangerous to eat; so that all those whom accident may lead to this country, should inform themselves a little as to what fruit they may or may not eat, before they venture upon their own judgement and seize tempting fruit. A present of a turtle was sent to the Captain, and with it ten or twelve young ones; the little things were kept in a soup plate, their size hardly so big as a half-crown, the water was frequently changed and it was very pretty to see them blow and swim about.

The ship having been more than three years on this station, and visited most of the Carribbee Islands, was ordered to St. John's, in the island of Antigua, where she remained something better than two months, and then proceeded to England. Upon the passage home, we tried soundings upon the banks of Newfoundland, and lay to some hours expecting to catch some fish, but as one or two only rewarded our zeal, from the ship being most likely too close to the edge of the banks

THE MIDSHIPMAN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE BERTH

(From a sketch by Captain Marryat, in the British Museum.)

and a fair wind blowing for England, we profited by it and stood our course, and arrived at Spithead, where before the anchor was let go, the ship was surrounded by bumboats from Portsmouth, loaded with all manner of fresh provisions and loaves of bread for sale; on these our eyes were fixed, eagerly devouring the fine legs and shoulders of mutton, with the soft bread, long before they were brought on board, for since the ship had left that anchorage for the West Indies, such a fine display had not been seen by any one of us. This was I think in the month of May, and although the weather was very fine, yet the difference between the climate of England and the one we had just left, was so sensibly felt by us all, that we were very glad to put on warmer clothing, at least those who had it.

During upwards of the three years and a half that I was in this ship, I do not remember more than four or five men being punished at the gangway, and then so slightly that it scarcely deserved the name, for the Captain was a very humane man, and although he made great allowances for the uncontrolled eccentricities of the seamen, yet he looked after the midshipmen of his ship with the eye of one who felt it a duty to keep youth in constant employment, not only for the benefit of themselves, but for the service which he not only considered the bulwark of his country, but the root from whence its pre-eminence had struck.

The blacks, both male and female, in the West Indies, are coarse featured and thickly formed. The mulattoes, on the contrary, partake more of the English make, both male and female, have likewise more sense; the mustees, again, both male and female, are nearer in complexion to the whites, but many of them have dark spots on their skins, which take off from their beautiful appearance, so that upon the whole the mulattoes are the most agreeable of the three shades: all of these two latter are quick and desirous of praise and attention, but very revengeful when provoked. The island of Grenada has by far the greatest show of beauty of all the Leeward Islands, for the mulatto women have a very engaging air, and are very affable.

Upon our first going out to the West Indies, after prayers (which the Captain used to read himself to the ship's company upon the quarter deck) on a Sunday, the midshipmen were sent for into his cabin, and there he would question each according to their capacity as to the knowledge they had gained during the week, confining his questions to such duties as had been carrying on during the week, and frequently, when any of the older midshipmen did not return satisfactory answers to his questions, he would refer them to me, desiring they would attend to such answers as I gave, and he would frequently say, "There, Sir! you see that little boy knows more about the duty that has been going forward in the ship than you, whose duty was to attend and see it carried on." This officer not only exercised his midshipmen in their professional knowledge, but aimed likewise to give them a taste for letters, and I suppose that because the grown up midshipmen either could not, or would not, profit by his good intentions, he would only permit another and myself to attend him in his cabin upon a Sunday, after the ship had been upon the station somewhat less than a year.

When he found me deficient in any task he set me, he consigned me to one of the quarter galleries, until I could repeat it by heart, and afterwards he would read it himself with emphasis and action, which was by no means disagreeable to me, as he now and then gave me something to eat, when the lesson was over, if he perceived me attentive. Beginning early to get an insight into the character of my Captain, I took care to be upon deck betimes in the morning whilst the decks were washing and the awnings spreading, after which I went to the masthead, and when the Captain came upon deck, which he generally did at half-past seven, he very soon spied me out, and a little before eight, beckoned to me to come down, when he put questions to me, how such and such ropes led at the mast head, their size as to others, and bade me point them out to him upon deck by taking hold of them; if I was not quick and expert in my answers I was sent again to the masthead, and desired in a quarter of an hour to come to him in

the cabin, where, being at breakfast, sometimes he made me sit down and eat, but if I answered his questions well at first, I was not ordered to the masthead a second time, but was asked to breakfast at once.

In two or three days after the arrival of the ship at Spithead, the Captain sent me on shore to the commissioner's at the dockyard at Portsmouth, and as his R.H. Prince William Henry came there at that time, I made his acquaintance. I stayed here until such time as the ship was ready to sail for Woolwich, there to be dismantled and paid off; and during her being dismantled, I had permission to go to my parents in London, where I got new clothing of every kind, and when the ship was ready to be paid off, I went down to her and received I think about fourteen guineas, as my personal pay. The Captain gave all the midshipmen a certificate of their time, and then we all separated. During our stay in the West Indies, Captain Cuthbert Collingwood had frequently under his command the *Rattler* sloop-of-war, which was commanded by his brother, Commander Wilfred Collingwood.[1] The brothers resembled each other in nothing but their zeal for the service, which never relaxed, indeed when the two ships were cruising together, I often thought that the sail the *Rattler* carried to keep her station with the *Mediator*, when a strong breeze blew and a lumping sea was going, that that small ship, a sloop-of-war, would be swamped; however the brothers were always on good terms with each other when they met on board the *Mediator* at dinner, though that was not often. Captain Cuthbert Collingwood was a reserved man, a good seaman and navigator, and well read in the English classics; and most heartily do I thank him for the care and pains he took to make me a seaman.

Here ends my first voyage, in the recital of which I may with safety say that there is neither addition or diminution of occurrences relating to myself, and as it is of myself only that I would speak, I have not touched upon others, except where it was absolutely necessary to connect circumstances together, which,

[1] Died at Antigua, April, 1787, while still in command of the *Rattler*.

though little of themselves, serve to elucidate the whole. As the general life midshipmen were subject to in the British Navy, at that time of day, always open to the caprice of their commanding officers, punishments awarded to them during their apprenticeship, such as mast-heading, disrating, being turned before the mast, being flogged, and in fact being turned out of the service altogether, all of which are severe punishments; still I am of opinion, they are ultimately for advantage to the individual, and equally for the benefit of the naval service of the country.

Youth often runs wild and riotous, and requires a tight hand to keep it within bounds. On board the *Mediator*, all these punishments were inflicted at various times; and one morning after breakfast, while at anchor in St. John's Road, Antigua, all the midshipmen were sent for into the Captain's cabin, and four of us were tied up one after the other to the breech of one of the guns, and flogged upon our bare bottoms with a cat-o'-nine-tails, by the boatswain of the ship; some received six lashes, some seven, and myself three. No doubt we all deserved it, and were thankful that we were punished in the cabin instead of upon deck, which was not uncommon in other ships of the fleet. Sometime after this another of the midshipmen and myself were put to mess with the common men, where we lived with them three months, performing all the offices of the ship boys such as cooking the victuals, standing the rank at the ship's copper for the beef, burgoo and pease soup, and cleaning the mess platters. At first I was indignant at such treatment, but there was no help for it, therefore I quietly resigned myself to my fate, and I am very glad I was so placed, as it gave me a great insight into the character of seamen, and enabled me to govern them as well as their officers hereafter with advantage to themselves and the country. In so doing Captain Collingwood did his duty by me, as well as his country, and I was thankful he so took it into his head, for during those three months I gained more knowledge of the seamen's character, than in all the other ships I have since served in during the trials I have undergone in my profession.

SECOND VOYAGE

I DID not remain long at home with my parents in London, before a distinguished Admiral in the service, Lord Hood, an acquaintance of my father's, suggested to him the importance of my going to some good mathematical school for a twelvemonth before I was sent again to sea, he undertaking to make necessary enquiry, and in the mean time thought it advisable that I should go as a boarder to a mathematical school of repute in Old Burlington-street, kept by a Mr. de Roy. I accordingly was sent there, and from having been at sea, was placed in the first room, which fronted the street, at the same desk where was a Lieut. Moore, of the navy, who attended daily for a couple of hours, to improve himself in nautical calculations; he was a jocose man, and as the old clothes men continually went by, he would lift up the sash, and in the same tone of voice cry "old clothes" likewise, to the no small entertainment of the room, and when he had set all the scholars laughing, would shut down the window, and resume his attention to the slate a moment or so before Mr. de Roy opened the door of the middle room to enquire the occasion of such a noise, but the master readily guessing the cause, very good humouredly begged the lieutenant to be a little more cautious, lest those he so well imitated should retort in sounds less melodious.

There I remained about four months, when the Admiral pointed out to my father a proper person, who having been employed at the royal observatory at Greenwich, to inspect and correct the calculations that were made for nautical almanacks, had just retired from public life, and settled at Portsmouth with his family, where, desirous of taking three or four young gentlemen intended for the navy, he purposed to devote

his time to instruct and lead them through a complete course of mathematics and astronomy. To this person he recommended my being sent for a year; accordingly I was sent to Portsmouth, and being his only pupil, he led me progressively on in a course of study, grounding me well in spherical trigonometry, to which he principally kept me. In hours not assigned for application, he would open to me other branches of calculation and science, which, though not immediately necessary to a sea officer, would occasionally be of infinite use to me in various ways.

During the year I remained with this philosopher, his whole self seemed wrapt in calculation, and his only recreation or cessation therefrom was a couple of hours daily; these he passed in a garret with some canary birds, in which he took great delight; it was his custom to sit and watch them, clean their cage, and give them food, for to me it seemed nothing more. I often laughed thereat, and do now laugh, as he was a married man, and it seemed wonderful to me how the deuce he could find time to court, he being so enamoured with them, the stars, and calculations; I should like to have seen if whilst thus inflated, he made his approaches by spherical movements, for certainly when he was gay, that is gay for a philosopher, he had a peculiar jerk in his walk, and when he turned about, it gave the flap of his coat a sort of motion that put me always in mind of a spherical triangle. Being known and much noticed by the Port-Admiral, Lord Hood,[1] and the Commissioner of the dockyard, Captain Martin, I had every advantage this port could give, and certainly profited thereby. With my pocket-money I bought a guitar, and took lessons from the organist, who though no good performer upon that instrument, gave me some little insight into the theory of music, and as he was director of a subscription concert held at the rooms at Portsmouth, common once a fortnight during the winter season, my name appeared upon the list of subscribers; but the audience upon the evenings of the performance were generally out num-

[1] Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, 1786-89.

bered by the wooden benches, which were covered with green baize and placed in two rows on each side of the room up and down.

The principal vocal performer was an old purser, whose efforts amused others as well as myself; it was very exciting to see him stretch his toothless jaws, and not unfrequently, for the want of breath to sustain long cadences, stop short in "The Soldier tired of war's alarms," his only song. I used to wonder that no English persons appeared professionally to sustain the part of principal performers in that part of the country, where great encouragement would have been given and much money paid to artists in this line, and where so many amateurs presented themselves upon every musical announcement, but the higher walks in music are not those of Johnny Bull. At this place, when any principal singer came down, the bellmen cried round the town the place and time of performance, in addition to numerous handbills posted up at all corners and distributed for the occasion; once, upon Madam Mara's[1] going to sing at the Isle of Wight, at a short notice, the bellmen as well as their deputies were heard ringing their bells and vociferating all over the town.

At the expiration of the year, having learnt of mathematics what was considered sufficient for a sea officer, I went to London, and very soon after my father's friend, the Admiral, recommended me to the Captain of a frigate, the *Vestal*, Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart., whose ship had just been put into commission, lying at Deptford. I immediately joined her, and as the ship was fitting, attended her equipment, and when this was done, she sailed down the river to Long Reach, and took in her ordnance stores. While the ship lay there, her boats were sent daily to press men from the different merchant vessels that came up the river, the rumour of an approaching rupture[2] about this time making us very alert, and although the duty

[1] A famous German soprano who created a great sensation in England.

[2] The reference is to the "Dutch Armament" of 1787. *See* N.R.S., Barham Papers, II, xii-xix.

of pressing is not the most agreeable, yet the necessity of the case authorised it, and of my own knowledge I never knew but one instance where resistance was offered; indeed all men who choose a sea-faring life well know before they enter upon it that they are liable to this law of necessity, and however it may be at variance with the common law of the land, yet, as no better or readier way of manning the national fleet upon emergency has yet occurred, open resistance cannot be tolerated, for upon all representations of aggravation to the Board of Admiralty, immediate investigation and redress are given.

From Long Reach, the ship went to the Nore, and soon after myself, with a party of men, was sent on board to take the charge of a three-decker line-of-battle ship, that was lying here to receive pressed men; all her guns were out, and she had stumps stepped for masts. There were above eleven hundred men on board, the sweepings of all London, tailors, barbers, watermen, livery servants, waiters, &c. and such a motley group I never before beheld so compactly lodged. One evening, when it blew very hard from the east, the boatswain came and told me that the men appeared as if afraid, and had taken to singing psalms, and would not go to assist in veering away cable, upon which I assembled all the boatswain's mates with broomsticks in their hands, and finding fair words would not avail, we made an unexpected sally upon the singers collected under the half-deck, and drove them down to the cables, veered and got the ship secure, indeed, it was very lucky we did so at that time, for soon afterwards it blew such a tough gale during the night, from the E. S. E. that with the few seamen we had on board, it would have been hazardous to have attempted veering cable during the breeze. The boatswain, however, told me afterwards that the intentions of the pressed men were to give no assistance whatever, in hopes that the ship might go on shore, and they thereby be enabled to get away, not considering that all hands might have been lost in case she had parted her anchors.

The *Vestal* being ordered on the Channel station, our party of men on board the line-of-battle ship was sent for, and we made sail for the Downs, where we remained a few days. Our boats were continually pressing men from the vessels that passed; the first Lieutenant Ruderford often took me with him; he was a resolute seaman and fond of carrying sail, and I often felt as though we should never get back to the ship, in some of those dark blowing winter nights, after chasing vessels that run us as far as they could before they would bring to, or the musket ball had pierced their sails; on such occasions however, we procured a few men, and as the ship remained upon the Downs station some time, every now and then, when it over-blew, we ran into the Downs.

One very boisterous night, with the wind from the S. W. the ship drove, the capstan was instantly manned, and every attempt made to purchase the anchor, but a lumping sea every time the ship rose, checked the men getting round with the capstan, and it was only upon the ship's pitching that anything could be gained upon the cable, at last the hanging pall gave way, and the resistance over-powering the men, the capstan spun back like lightning, the swifter [1] broke, out flew the bars, oversetting and wounding the men; upon this, orders were given to slip, and we ran under a foretop-mast staysail into Margate roads, where we anchored, and found that the capstan had not only strained the palls, but one of the welps [2] was drawn from the bolts, and the capstan otherwise damaged. This accident made me perceive how necessary it is that officers should inspect the fitting of every thing in its place, when sent on board from the dock-yard, as the action of the atmosphere on shipboard is so different upon many things from what it is on shore, that they fre-

[1] The swifter of the capstan was a rope hitched to the ends of all the bars to steady them in place. When all the bars were fully manned, extra men could be put on the swifter.

[2] The whelps were vertical pieces like buttresses fastened to the barrel of the capstan in order to increase its diameter, and at the same time give a better grip on the rope wound round it.

quently require some little alteration before they fit well where intended : this was the case of the capstan bars, for many of them, though numbered, would not fit so as to admit the pins, so that when the capstan flew round backwards, out flew the bars, and the swifter breaking, it was impossible any man could stand his ground : this made a great impression upon me.

Our Captain on this occasion was confoundedly vexed for the sufferings of the men, and the loss of his speaking trumpet which was blown overboard by the breeze. After this we went to Spithead to complete for foreign service, and here several cases containing presents came on board, and as they were to be stowed in places where they would be dry, a quantity of the ship's provisions, such as casks of bread, flour, &c. were placed in the between decks,[1] under the men's hammocks, and upon the gun deck casks of beef and pork, leaving only room to work the ship. After this an Ambassador [2] came on board with his suite, and the ship sailed on an afternoon for the East Indies, with a strong east wind, that before sunset increased so as to reduce the ship to her forecourse. The ship being very deep in the water, from the quantity of provisions and stores on board, did not lift as she ought, and a heavy sea carried away her rudder-coat,[3] through which the water gushed so fast that we were obliged to bring to the wind and lay to, to repair the damage. It was then found that the ship was so deep as not to bear the sail necessary to keep her easy, and took in water so much, that had not the hatchways been battened down, we should have been in danger : the water being above knee deep upon the gun-deck, set the casks of provisions rolling, many of the men working at the pumps were hurt by

[1] The lower deck of a frigate at this time carried no guns, and was used to berth the crew : the gun deck was the deck next above it. Thus to say that a thing was in the between decks, or on the lower deck or on the berth deck, all meant the same.

[2] Colonel the Hon. Charles Alan Cathcart.

[3] A loose coat of strong canvas nailed both to the rudder and to the ship, in order to keep the sea from washing in through the hole by which the rudder head came into the ship.

them very much, so that it became necessary to stave the casks and throw them all overboard as fast as possible, which was no sooner done than the decks were scuttled to let the water run into the hold, from whence it was pumped out again. All the pumps were kept going, as well as men bailing. At last the rudder-coat was repaired, and the ship again bore away before the wind : all hands were employed in getting her to rights during the night. The next morning we were sensible how near a touch it had been ; the ship however was still too deep in the water, but we had the consolation of Æsop, that every day we should eat her lighter.

The gale continued four days, and on the fifth we were becalmed off the island of Madeira. During the forenoon a light breeze sprang up, and the ship stood towards the dense mass of fog that generally envelopes this island, in which she no sooner entered than the sun became obscured, and a continual roaring of heavy surf attracted our attention. It was some time before we saw the land, but when it did appear, the suddenness with which it burst upon us, illumined by partial gleams of sunshine, produced an effect of such magnificence that it seemed like enchantment as the ship skirted the shore. This beautiful scene, and the effect of the sea breaking into a white surf and running up to a great height between the cliffs, separating and dissolving with all the colours of the rainbow, had a charm so great that silence pervaded the whole of the ship's company, who evidently regretted their near approach to Funchal Bay, when the bustle of anchoring broke their trance about four o'clock in the afternoon. Here we procured fruit and bread, and those who had old clothes to dispose of, found a ready barter for them in exchange for what the boatmen brought alongside, and twice as much more than you got for money. The next morning I went on shore with the draftsman belonging to the embassy ; we ate grapes, and walked up the hills to a nunnery, about two miles off, where we bought trifling things made by the nuns.

After looking about the town, and making a sketch

or two, we were returning on board, when the custom-house officers stopped us upon the beach, and they fain would have taken our sketches from us, so jealous were they lest any one should carry away plans of their contemptible means of defence; by perseverance we secured our paper, reached our boat, and got safe aboard. It was very amusing to see how easily the inhabitants carry casks of wine, and get them shipped off the beach into the boats, notwithstanding the surf; this they do by hanging the casks to long poles, which several men place their shoulders under, and go away with the load at a good trot.

The third day the ship left the island, and the wind being fair, we stood to the southward. The draftsman attached to the embassy, whenever the weather permitted, would sketch something or other, and as I was at all times glad to show him about the ship and give him any information he asked, he readily allowed me when he was drawing to look over him, by which I imperceptibly learnt a great deal, and by close practice, in the course of a short time, became so expert in sketching that I made him plans and sketches of different parts of the ship, and he in return showed me the principle of coloring, upon which he used to reason. The progress I made in drawing attracted the notice of the officers, who frequently permitted me to sketch when no particular duty of my watch would interfere with their indulgence. Nothing worthy remark occurred until crossing the line, when the ceremony of Neptune's hailing the ship and coming on board over the bows to welcome the passengers, as well as exact a toll from those he had never before seen that way afforded much amusement to the ship's company, many of whom, as well as myself, not being recognised by his tritons, purchased with an allowance of grog our welcome, as well as his permission to enrol ourselves as tritons.

We crossed the line in about twenty-five degrees west longitude, and were becalmed thereabouts for nearly four weeks. The ship's company, between four and five in the afternoon, used to bathe alongside

in a steering sail, with shot tied in the middle to make it sink; when put into the water and extended it formed a large and deep bath, and the sharks could not molest us, although they were always upon the look-out to seize anything that fell overboard. After passing the line, the albatross is now and then seen, though more generally as you advance to the southward; this bird measures from ten to eighteen feet between its wings' tips, it is of a grey ash colour, and now and then the sailors catch it with a hook and line, which they bait with a piece of fat pork; they float the line a long way astern of the ship, and the bird if very hungry stoops to it, and if it takes it, is pulled on board and becomes the prey of man. The albatross yields little as food, and that very fishy and strong; this bird I never saw except in the wide ocean, and then only in calms or very high winds. This I should conceive was from its magnitude, as a strong wind would have so powerful an effect upon its wings from their size that it could not safely soar when it blows; at such times no doubt this bird either sits upon the water or makes for the land before the gale comes on. I never saw more than two at one time, and these far distant from each other, indeed seldom but one, therefore I considered it a solitary bird, and as I gave it that name, the sailors of our ship, who like all sailors were fond of quaint names, adopted it. This bird has a very majestic appearance when upon the wing, more like skimming the air than any thing else, as it seldom moves its wings except to rise, when it sails above the surface of the ocean air-borne for a long distance before it makes another stroke with its wings; it is so shy of coming near a ship that unless from hunger it is seldom caught.

The officer of marines one calm day offered for a wager of five pounds, that he would, in his clothes as he stood, go down the side of the ship, and strike off into the water, although sharks were about the ship, and then swim on board again. The bet was instantly accepted, but, unfortunately, as he was going over the gangway he gave his watch to the man who

had the look out there to hold; down he went into the water, pushed off from the ship's side, and then turning swam back again; all were amused, as every time he struck out in the act of swimming his coat pockets, bulging out with water, retarded him in his return; he got hold of the man-rope however, and mounting the side, with a smiling countenance claimed his wager, instead of which his opponent presented him with his watch, to the no small entertainment of us all, but as he was a very good fellow and liked, we were, generally speaking, rather sorry he had lost his wager. His bright red coat, from the effects of sea water, turned of a deep cloudy crimson, so that he always afterwards bore on his back the trophy of his temerity, and when joked about it he appeared to enjoy the joke.

Distant ripples upon the water every here and there had for several days been seen round the horizon, and now and then the sails were readily trimmed, courting the breeze to reach us, but no such thing, it often died away when close alongside, from its being merely a prognostic of a breeze that had out run the main part or body of the air after it had been put into motion, and for want of a backing force was left to waste in gambols its expiring effort over the azure deep; at last a breeze came from the south, when we stretched towards the African coast, and made the land about St. Helena bay. Here as far as the eye could see in and along shore numbers of whales lay asleep, floating upon the water, with the round of their backs above its surface, and upon these, flocks of sea gulls were perched, apparently pecking off the various animalculæ that adhered to their large bodies. The ship, endeavouring to hug the land, made several tacks during the day, and the whales, as the ship came near them, would upon being awoke spout water up to a great height, and raising their tails dive, and the sea gulls that were perched on them would fly to the backs of others that lay floating. One of these great animals was unfortunately run down by the ship, and by its roar it must have been much hurt, as the ship was

going at the rate of nine knots an hour. As we kept beating along shore, we saw a couple of South Sea whalers at anchor, whose crew, from the smoke and smell that came off the land, seemed to be employed in boiling the blubber of the whales they had caught.

After persevering for three days, we found that what the ship gained in the offing at night was lost in shore during the day, so the ship stood out to sea on the larboard tack to look for a wind, and as we increased our distance from the African coast, the ship kept breaking off until such time as she could lay her course for the Cape of Good Hope upon the other tack, which, taking the advantage of, we tacked ship and arrived there in a few days, to the no small satisfaction of the ship's company. An immediate supply of fresh provisions, wine, and fruit was procured, and the sick, as well as those who could be spared from the ship, were permitted to go on shore, where in a month or five weeks every one had recruited his strength, and was again ready, nay, desirous to proceed on the voyage. The town is well built, the streets running at right angles with one another, and the market place large and well supplied. The Hottentot men and women frequently come from the interior to barter and purchase goods, and the inhabitants, one and all, were glad to receive the officers of the ship to board and lodge at their houses during their stay, where they became as one of the family, paying at the rate of one Spanish dollar a day, sterling money. Wine and fruit were excellent and in abundance at this place, and while ships stay here the wine houses are much frequented by the sailors, who dance and divert themselves in the evening.

During the day, from ten until two in the afternoon, the heat at this season of the year is too intense to take much exercise, but the company's gardens are a very pretty lounge, and are mostly frequented on account of the shade which the trees afford. The Table Mount stands beyond the town, and although high, it is quite flat at the top; it is the best weather glass possible, for before any material change takes place the inhabitants have timely notice from its appearance; in fine

weather this mount is always clear and free from clouds, but upon the approach of a change a thin scud begins to skim over its flat top, and falling over the north-west side of the Table Mount, seems to melt away and disappear; this phenomenon continues perhaps three or four days, during which time the air feels chilly; sometimes it goes off and is succeeded by fair weather; if however the thin scud, continually falling over the mount, begins to form more of a cloud, by degrees encircling the mountain about one-third down, leaving the top of it, over which the scud is falling, perfectly visible, the wind then begins to blow a little; but if the cloud that encircled the mountain rises and connects itself with the scud that still skims over the top, they very soon form into a body so dense that the table land becomes capped and entirely hid; this cap is close, thick, and well defined all round its edges, and reaches about one-third down the mount, while no other cloud is to be seen. At this point of appearance the wind begins to blow so violently that with difficulty a man can stand on the flat land between the town and the landing place, which is frequently impassable from the stones, which, driven with great force by the wind, fly like shot and frequently wound those who attempt to go that way; when this is the case, few persons stir out until the second or third day, when the wind begins to abate, and the mountain's top by little and little again becomes visible, for the body of clouds imperceptibly disappear and the gale leaves off nearly as it came on.

The domestic servants of the inhabitants many of them are Malays, they are of a deep copper colour, with long black hair, and slaves of the people they serve. The mistress of the house where I lodged used to make her female slaves strip off their shifts to their waists early in the morning, and then inflict stripes across their shoulders with a bull's pizzle. As this punishment was given under the window of my bedroom, being frequently an eye witness, I wished that I could inflict the like upon the old Dutchwoman for inflicting it herself, whatever the fault might have been. The Dutchmen

punish the men slaves likewise, and some of these poor creatures when they find themselves sorely treated, which now and then happens, chew opium until they become intoxicated, and then they run along the streets wounding and stabbing every white person they meet with, until they are shot dead, which is found to be the only way of checking their fury. This is called running the muck, and one of these poor creatures was by such treatment reduced to do so, and as he ran along the street I was walking in, he was shot on the opposite side of it, at some little distance before me; indeed I followed him from curiosity, purposely to see the result of what is termed there "running the muck," and on these occasions the inhabitants shut their doors as fast as possible.

They kill the cattle here upon the flat land between the landing place and the town, where the animal with a rope tied to one of its hind legs is held by one or two men, while another in front of the animal endeavours to irritate it, and when it runs at him he sticks it with a long knife between the horns, the poor animal then falls down, they cut its throat that instant, skin it and cut it up.

During our stay here I was asked by the man of the house where I lodged if I should like to ride upon an ostrich, my answer was yes, and I persuaded another young midshipman to accompany me: the next day, about nine in the morning, two large ostriches came to the door with a man to conduct them, whom we were told the ostriches would obey, and that we need be under no apprehensions. The birds were very tall and had a cloth over their necks, over which we were lifted up and got astride, having a kind of bridle from the mouth of the bird to hold by; the man had a stick, and we set off at a gentle walk until we got clear of the town, and came to a soft white sand that lay at the westward of it; the man then told us we should ride a mile out, and a mile in, so off the birds went at a quick walk, and in a few minutes we were all three at the mile out, so turning about, the man began to run as fast as he could, and the birds at a long trot, used

their wings and went at a fine pace past the man until they came to where we set off from, and we were very glad it was over, as it shook us much. There were three of these birds kept here for this purpose, and the man made a great profit by them.

At the end of five or six weeks the ship left the Cape of Good Hope, and entering the Southern Ocean which nearly encircles the whole globe, stretched away to the south-east for some days, and then tacking, stood in for the land again, which we made high upon the eastern side of the continent of Africa, where we got embayed. It came on to blow dead upon the land with a heavy sea, and the ship was kept continually tacking, day and night for near a week, and each day we observed the welcome smoke of the Africans rising all along the coast, warning the country of our situation, they no doubt anticipating a full and hearty meal : indeed, had we not pressed the ship a good deal to keep off land, our jokes on this head might have been rather serious for we lost ground daily, by a ground swell that set us in on the land ; at last it became calm, but the wind chopping round, we left this cannibal coast and got a good offing, and the second day, the wind increasing to a strong gale from the west, soon reduced our lofty sails to a reefed foresail, and lower steering sails, under which we run right before it at a fine rate, but the wind increasing daily and at last blowing a hard gale, the lower steering sails were taken in as the sea became dangerously high. It was fine dry weather with bright sunshine over head, and the sight magnificent as every now and then the ship was between two hills of water, where scarcely a breath of wind was felt, and the foresail becalmed became a back sail against the mast, from the velocity the ship had been impelled by the wind ere she dropped between the waves ; and as she was lifted behind by the following sea the wind was heard aloft whistling in the rigging as she rose : soon after, the foresail stretched to its utmost by this roaring element, which blew with such force that if you went aft to the taffrail you were necessitated to hold by some rope lest you should be overset, or blown back-

wards thereby. At this point the waves were beautiful, as you could see for a long way the boiling wake of the track of the ship, which rose from under her with loud hissings and sparkling appearances as the ship was borne for the moment upon the summit of each succeeding wave, from which her weight as she rose on its top sunk her so that the water came running in over each gangway on to the quarter deck as far aft as the mizzenmast, which obliged us to run aft, keeping us all upon the alert, by which time the wave leaving her, she again gradually inclined stern downward into the valley, which the wave before and behind formed, where all was again calm, with the foresail to the mast. How often have I contemplated this grand and awful sight !

One very fine day while sitting aft with others, admiring the diversity of colors with which following waves were incessantly illumined at their summit, our notice was attracted by an immense wave that seemed to accumulate others into its body preparatory to breaking, at last it did break, and on the first bursting of its head, came down with such force upon the surface of the water that it rebounded upwards, as a ball would when thrown upon the ground, and it fell and roared in this way three times successively ; each time the head came in contact with the surface of the sea the concussion was like peals of heavy thunder and spread its foam instantaneously over the sea to a great distance all round ; so great was this velocity of the foam that it struck the ship upon the starboard quarter, causing the frigate to lurch greatly to port, and gave all a good wetting with the body of the spray as it struck the quarter, before we could seize hold of the ridge ropes of the hammocks to hold by. To give an idea of this velocity of the foam, where the wave broke was at least half a mile from the ship, which was going through the water at the rate of nearly thirteen miles an hour. A poor bird, that had been following the ship for some days, kept perching upon one yard of the ship or another, at last it suffered itself to be caught, it being a sparrow hawk, a wicker

basket became its cage, and the leg of a chicken was offered it, which the bird pounced upon with a ferocity hardly to be conceived, and eat up in an instant. The bird became a favourite, and being well supplied with food, got fat and partly tame.

We had now been at sea for some time, and were some hundreds of miles from the nearest land, still scudding before the gale, the ship's company's hammocks had been piped down, and I was hanging up mine abreast the main hatchway; on hearing a noise and bustle upon deck, I ran up without my hat, and found that a strange sail was seen broad upon our starboard bow, pretty close to us, carrying a heavy press of sail, and steering the same course as ourselves. The eagerness of all on board to see a living object was such, that all hands rushed upon deck and lined the starboard side and gangway as fast as possible, to get a good place to view her from; our ship's course was altered a little on purpose to speak the strange sail, and we were fast overhauling her, every one intent upon making her out, but when within two cables length of her, she broached to,[1] and a sea struck her broad upon her beam; her sheets flew, her sails fluttered, and instantly split into ribbons; yells of distress and despair were heard by all the crew of the *Vestal* frigate; notwithstanding the force of the wind, and our distance of near a cable's length from the distressed ship, her men were distinctly seen endeavouring to cut away the shrouds, that the masts might go by the board, but the next sea made a clean breach over her, and we saw her hull no more, as we flew like lightning by the eddy she caused in the water when sinking, which, as we passed, her top mast heads shewed above water, but the white spray of the sea which hung in the hollow, between the waves, was so dense, that nothing but the tops of the waves were visible as we passed, there was therefore no possibility to render the least assistance, and we resumed our course. During these few moments, not a word was spoken, all was hushed, except the

[1] A ship running before the sea broaches to, or is broached to, when the sea twists her round at a large angle from her course.

hissing noise from the boiling wake of our ship as she flew along; indeed, a feeling of horror seemed to have seized on all our ship's company from a consciousness of our inability to render the smallest assistance, but, after a few moments pause, a kind of half stifled sound from the forecastle confusedly murmured, "the *Flying Dutchman!*" "the *Flying Dutchman!*" dying away as it came to the people aft: on this I felt my hair erect from my head, and although I put my hand to press it down, so great was my sensation of surprise, that it scarcely yielded to the pressure.

It was some time before my usual spirits returned, nor was the ship's company less affected at this appalling sight, for instead of dancing as was their general custom every evening, until the watch was set, they kept huddling together in sixes and sevens, and walking backwards and forwards upon deck, wrapt in thoughtfulness, and then by degrees retiring, by twos and threes to their hammocks. The impression that was made upon the officers and ship's company after seeing the *Flying Dutchman* may more easily be conceived than described, therefore I shall merely state, what I used to hear after this upon the subject amongst the old seamen in their common chat to amuse each other, while upon deck in their night watch, and relating past events: viz., When the Dutch were advanced in trade with the East Indies, it was known that certain merchandise was very scarce in those parts, and a rich Dutch merchant freighted a ship at considerable expense with those commodities that were wanting in the East, and thought no other merchant would attempt the same thing, it not being generally known; but in this he was mistaken, for another merchant, equally alive, and actuated by the same spirit of trade, had in another port of Holland freighted a ship likewise for the East Indies with similar merchandise, having heard a report of this scarcity.

These two ships sailed from Holland, and arriving within a day or two of each other at the Cape of Good Hope, were equally surprised to find themselves bound for the same market with similar goods. The skippers,

therefore, for the benefit of their owners, agreed to sail together, and in case of accident upon the passage, mutually to assist each other, and upon their arrival in the East Indies not to undersell one another in the market. They left the Cape of Good Hope, but before they got to the eastward of the island of Madagascar, a strong gale of wind came on from the west, and after running their course together for some time, on a dark night, a little after the first watch had been set, one of the ship's sprung a leak, which from the rolling of the ship increased so much, that all the exertions of the crew at the pumps could not keep her free. The distressed ship made signals of distress to her companion, by firing minute guns, and though their distance from each other was not more than one mile and a half, so that the flashes of the powder and report of the guns must have been heard, yet the other ship paid no attention to them, but holding counsel amongst themselves the skipper and crew agreed to leave their consort to her fate, calculating that should they get first to the market they would get a higher price for their merchandise. They did leave her to her fate, and made a good voyage, but the other ship was never heard of afterwards.

To commemorate this act of injustice, this act of inhumanity, which had its rise solely from the spirit of trade, it seems to have pleased Providence that the apparition of this ship in distress is still to hover and haunt those seas as a memorable beacon to remind others who navigate them of such cold-blooded cruelty. This phenomenon assumes various guises ; I have been told sometimes as here related, at others as a ship always in company with you for days together, or as a large ship bearing right down upon you, so that you think you will be run down, and then in an instant disappearing, leaving, I should suppose, similar lasting impressions upon the minds of all who have seen it, as it has upon mine. I have frequently met persons in company that had seen this apparition, who related to me the appearance this spectre ship put on to them, but fearing ridicule withheld themselves from touching

upon it ; but whenever I related the circumstance, those who had seen it, fully corroborated my observations by their own, notwithstanding the jeering sapient laugh of incredulity that guggled in the throats of those *savants* who heard them, and who never perhaps had quitted the purlieus of their own fogs or the yell of their own hounds, but are frequently met with in society endeavouring to quash the unaffected recital of the traveller, who seldom has any other motive in the relating what he has seen, other than to bring his hearers to a sense of reflection ; and though I quoted the 16th chap. of St. Luke, 31st verse, " And he said unto him, if they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead," still incredulity visibly kept them in chains. For several days prior to seeing the *Flying Dutchman*, a ship had been observed about eight or nine miles off, nearly upon our starboard beam, steering the same course as ourselves, and keeping nearly the same distance, bearing either a little before or abaft our beam, and we supposed that she as well as ourselves was bound to the eastward ; at last, for several days not seeing her, we thought she must have altered her course more to the southward, therefore nothing more about her was spoken of, although it was visible that all on board the frigate felt her absence, for though at such a distance from us, yet her presence afforded the satisfaction of looking at her, as knowing we were not alone in those wide seas, which is always, in such a solitary void, an agreeable consideration.

On our return to the Cape of Good Hope, we often related the circumstance to the people at whose house we were lodged. I was then at sick quarters, and we were invariably answered by them, " you have seen the *Flying Dutchman*," and that there were few ships navigating those seas, who had not seen this phantom ship, some under one guise, and some under another. The occurrence made a great impression on my mind, and I afterwards threw together the following lines which may not be inappropriate here.

THE FLYING DUTCHMAN,

AS SEEN IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN IN THE YEAR 1787.

To India, while scudding before a strong gale,
Loud roared the wind, and high ran the sea,
On a sudden we found ourselves near a strange sail,
So we bore up a little, to bring her a-lee.

No land had been seen for three weeks or more,
And eager with others to view a strange sail
In the wide southern ocean, so far from the shore,
I hastened on deck 'ere we came within hail.

She seem'd in confusion, as struck by a sea,
And o'er whelm'd by the wave, she reeling broach'd to;
And then, on a sudden, no more could we see,
But heard the sails flutter, and screams of her crew.

Amazed at the sight, old seamen did say,
The Flying Dutchman has passed us to night;
Again then she gleamed, through the white misty spray,
And settling, she vanished away from our sight.

All now was hush'd, save the tempest's loud roar,
The ship's hissing wake, and the following sea;
Reflection press'd deep on the crew, which afore
Pass'd the watch with the song, the story, and glee.

During strong gales of wind, ships have been known to run a distance of three hundred miles in twenty-four hours, but this seldom occurs for any continuance, our log book however shewed, that in three successive days the ship had run the immense distance of nine hundred miles.[1] In a few days after the appearance of the *Flying Dutchman*, the gale left us, and the wind, hanging to the eastward, obliged us to stretch so far to the south, that we felt the cold very sensibly, and kept a sharp look out for ice islands, but the ship, gradually falling off, was enabled to get a slant the other way, and in a day or two we had the wind from the south-west; then steering for the straits of Sunda, enjoyed the hope of soon tasting the delicious fruit of that island.

Now it was the constant custom every evening, a little before sunset, to shorten sail, by taking in the

[1] Raigersfeld's memory played him a trick: the ship made no such phenomenal run. *See* Introduction, p. xvii.

steering sails and stowing the staysails between the masts, and make all snug, in case of a change of weather in the night, so that the watch on deck would be strong enough to take in more sail if necessary; the ship's company had just began to do so when all of a sudden there was the cry of " a man overboard ! a man overboard ! " A grating was immediately thrown into the water from off the quarter-deck, over the weather quarter, which fell near the man, who had just risen from under the ship's bottom, and the ship was brought round too, steering sails and all, but as she was going between nine and ten knots an hour, before a boat could be lowered from the stern, she had at least run half a mile or more. In the tropics dark comes on apace after sunset, so neither the man that had fallen overboard nor the boat sent in search of him was long visible, and as the sound of oars could not be heard, a light was shewn over the weather quarter. In about three quarters of an hour, we heard the boat's oars, when she was within hail, we were answered " the man is safe," and all hands crowded to the gangway to see the fortunate person, and of all the ship's company, he was the greatest scape-grace on board; this man, when passing the gasket,[1] fell from the jib boom into the water, the ship went over him, and he arose abaft the main chains, and as the grating that was thrown overboard fell within a couple of fathoms of him, he got hold of it; the time from his falling until he was brought on board again was fifty-five minutes.

This fine south-west wind carried us to the straits of Sunda, when it became light, but we got in shore at the island of Java, and anchored off Anjeiry Point, where, with the island of Sumatra on the other side, ships ride in safety. Our first care was to complete our water, in which our boats were continually employed, covered by a party of marines, who constantly attended; as all the Malays by whom the island is inhabited

[1] A cord with which a sail was furled to its yard or boom : it was passed round the sail and the spar. *See* Seafarers' Library, " Voyages of Captain N. Uring," p. 48, where Uring himself had a similar accident.

wear the poisoned creese, or dagger, with waving edges, and as they are a sly, jealous, and revengeful people, and not of free intercourse, it is quite necessary to be always upon your guard. Turtle, eggs, poultry, and fruit are in great abundance; the Malays bring off these things for barter, and it is customary to supply ship's companies with turtles instead of fresh beef. Several of these turtles are exceedingly large, and one that the natives brought alongside for barter weighed thirteen hundred pounds; it was too large for our ship's company's use, those from seventeen to one hundred and twenty pounds weight being such as were bought for the ship.

The Malay inhabitants are passionately fond of cock-fighting, and take great pains to rear those birds that have good ancestry, and therefore their pedigrees are examined with the same scrupulousness as we do the pedigrees of race-horses; indeed so eager are they in this sport that a Malay will sometimes stake his whole family, and even himself, upon the fate of the battle, which, if lost, consigns them to slavery. I was twice at their sparring matches, which they held about a mile to the westward of the town, under a large old tree, with extended branches that yield a shade to a thousand people or more; at these times the men formed a circle, and being seated upon their haunches, the birds are suffered to spar. The women attend principally to domestic concerns; their houses are chiefly built of cane, in the same manner as birdcages are of wire, except that the canes are so close to each other that reptiles cannot creep in between them; these houses were mostly open at one front, and their bed places are also of cane, and placed as shelves at the back part, about three feet apart one above the other, and extended the length of the house, about four feet from the side; the other part of the apartment was left free; taking the whole together these apartments were generally from twenty to twenty-five feet, by sixteen to twenty-two. In the bed places were laid mats made of plantain leaves, plaited (like straw for hats,) and exceedingly flexible; on these mats the Malays

lay down naked, as shade is all that is required here. The people live chiefly in the open air, and their houses of cane are always protected from the sun's rays, being surrounded with trees, which so completely darken them on the inside that you can scarcely discover any one in the rooms until you have been there a short time, when the whites of the inmates' eyes are seen.

Being very fond of swimming, particularly in a surf, I generally went with the watering party in the morning, that I might swim off the casks when full to the boat, which lay at a grapnel [1] outside the surf; and a draftsman belonging to the embassy, a clever, ingenious man, (Mr. Ibbotson,) always desirous of continual practice in sketching, went one morning, and persuaded me to accompany him, to some very large plantain trees that grew about a mile from the watering place, which he wished particularly to make a sketch of, we strolled to the place. The trees stood within a couple of stones throw from the water's edge, and we purposed to have a swim as soon as the sketch was finished; accordingly, when he had made his sketch, we both took off our clothes, myself in the deep shade of the plantain trees, and the draftsman a little from it nearer the beach; we then walked into the sea, which we found very shoally for a good quarter of a mile out, but the heavy surf broke about one mile off shore, running along shore about a couple of miles; the surf upon the beach is seldom much, and as we were both good swimmers, we soon got through the inner surf, and amused ourselves nearly an hour, not out of our depth, and just within the heavy surf.

I was jumping up and down in the water, splashing and playing all manner of tricks, when, by accident, I observed the fin of a basking shark about fifty yards from us, upon which I immediately told my companion, and desired him, as he valued his life, not to show any appearance of alarm, but to keep splashing about by little and little towards the shore, until such time as we were within the inner surf, where we should be not more

[1] A boat's grapnel, or graplin, has four or five claws instead of the two arms of an anchor, and therefore needs no stock.

than knee deep, and if the shark had spunk enough to follow us we would have some sport with him, but that if, on the contrary, he shewed the least of hurry, the shark would dart upon one of us directly; after telling him to bend himself a little that he might not flounder, he strictly followed my advice as we closed in. The shark's fin remained all the time we glided towards the shore without any visible alteration in distance and bearing which assured me of the shark's indecision, and caused me to consider ourselves apparently safe; when we got to the inner surf we rose and swam with it as far as we could, well knowing the shark would not like to attack us there; we got through it safely and in a short time; then making our way to the beach we picked up stones, and waded back to the inner surf, where, mid-leg deep, we threw our stones at the shark, in hopes that we might tempt that cautious fish to make a dart and land himself, but in this we were mistaken, as he chose to keep in deep water, just without the inner surf, this he did without any apparent motion. This animal generally contemplates his prey near to the surface of the water, during which his upright fin is always to be seen, and it is certain, while the fin is visible, that the shark is in a state of indecision, but when he has once determined he turns upon his back to make a steady attack, if he misses his prey he will reconnoitre with his fin above water, as before, ere he makes another attempt.

At last, tired with throwing stones at him, and beginning to feel the effects of a scorching sun upon our bare skins, we walked up to the plantain trees to dress ourselves, but upon our arrival we found some of the Malays had stolen our clothes, and left us to retrace our steps quite naked to the watering party, by whom we were laughed at; however as a pair of trousers were borrowed for each from those men who were floating the casks off to the boats, we returned on board by the first boat, when, from the ridiculous appearance we cut, we were heartily laughed at again. From our first arrival here, great care was taken to collect the men on shore together in the evening, and bring them off in the boats to the

ship, so that none should be left there all night; yet, notwithstanding all our care, the negro man-servant to the mess I belonged to, contrived to secrete himself and remain on shore, he was missed immediately, but the boat could not stay for him; on the boat's going on shore next morning he was found dead close to the beach, having been stabbed by the Malays. This operated as a warning to others, who now saw the true reason why no leave had been granted, and the officers had no further trouble in collecting the men in the evening before the last boat left the shore. The rising and setting of the sun here is truly magnificent, but during the night are continual flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, and in general they are so severe as to make it necessary to secure the magazine door with swabs; this as a matter of course was done regularly at the time at which the hammocks were piped down.

The ship having completed her water and provisions, with live turtle on deck between the guns enough for a fortnight, we weighed anchor with a beating wind; in three or four days it came on to blow hard, and gave the current a set against us so that the ship anchored frequently during the strong squalls; we got, however, into the straits of Banca, and being completely hemmed in on all sides by the different islands, it was all hands about ship very often. Once however, about midnight, in consequence of his Excellency the Ambassador being very ill, the ship was brought to an anchor, and before daylight he breathed his last; indeed the Ambassador came on board in an ailing state. The embassy now was at an end. The next day the ship returned to her late anchorage, Anjeiry Point in the island of Java, where the body of his Excellency was interred with military honours; the marines, the officers, and such of the ship's company as could be spared, attended the funeral, and the ship fired minute guns from the time the corse left until it was interred, and the marines had fired three volleys over the grave. This being a novel sight for the natives, they came far and near to see the ceremony, at which they behaved with perfect order and decorum.

Every preparation was now made to return to the Cape of Good Hope; a stock was procured of fowls and eggs, and amongst other things numbers of monkeys, cockatoos, paraquets, macaws, and Java sparrows, and to my fancy the ship somewhat resembled a Noah's ark; amongst other animals which the natives brought on board were two small deer about a foot high, most delicately formed, and excepting two little sprouts for horns about a quarter of an inch long, they were perfect deer in miniature. There was a shark well known to the natives here, which from its size, and the mischief it had done, kept the canoe men in fear. One day this monster paid us a visit alongside, he was no sooner seen than the men ran to bait their different hooks, but the armourer having a small hook to a line not bigger than a log line threw it overboard, when the shark immediately took the bait and was hooked; as the armourer played him well, he was brought up alongside four or five successive times, and saluted with a few musket balls; at last, when sufficiently sickened to be slung, he was hoisted out of the water by the main yard and stay tackles, and allowed to hang some time, when he cast his stomach and out came several small sharks that fell into the water. The length of this fish when got on board was nineteen feet two or three inches, and on cutting it up twenty-two young sharks were found therein, and each of them measured two feet two inches long: the jaws of this shark, when cleaned and opened to their greatest extent, passed readily over any two men in the ship when they stood back to back. This shark was considered rather out of condition, so no part of him was eaten, except a small piece of the tail about four feet long. As soon as a piece of oak, fashioned and painted white to represent a tombstone, with a Latin inscription thereon, had been erected at the head of the grave of the Ambassador, the ship weighed anchor, and with a fair wind spun her thread to the westward, without any particular occurrence until some of the ship's company fell sick.

The bloody flux [dysentery] began soon after to show itself with such unfavourable symptoms as to hurry

off the men that were seized with it in the course of a few hours; in consequence of its putridity it was deemed necessary to bury those who died of it in four hours after; the burial rites were generally performed by a midshipman of the watch upon deck; I was always a volunteer for this service, and once had three at the same time to commit to the deep; as these plumped into the water, the sharks plumped upon them, whilst those on board plumped upon the sharks as often as they could, and eat them in return. It was my lot to be seized with this dreadful malady, and though I struggled against it as much as possible, by keeping upon my legs, yet constant evacuations so weakened me in the course of two days that I was obliged to take to my hammock; a man attended to lift me in and out of it to the bucket: but the disorder putting on the appearance of its last stage, viz., continually voiding blood without pain every two or three minutes, it was expected that in the course of five or seven hours I should go off, as I had seen several before me, without a groan, except a struggle to draw breath, which appeared to choke them, and as their eyes became fixed, which I often witnessed; in others an issuing proceeded from their mouth, of a whitish puke, and then down fell the under jaw. As I lay in my hammock, I overheard the doctor tell my messmates that I should die before morning: so being given over by the doctor, the doctor's mate, who had been surgeon of a Guineaman, asked the surgeon if he would allow him to try a common remedy that used to be given to negroes. "You may do as you please," answered the surgeon; he then made up my dose and I took it.

During all this confab I only thought how the sharks would gobble me up, having seen how they plumped upon all those I had buried over the ship's side; still I felt that if I could only get up and move about I should recover, this I could not then do, but as my hammock hung just over the cockpit ladder, the men as they went down to the steward's room for their allowance of bread knocked against it; this disturbed me greatly, and I begged of my messmates to bring me

a good stick, and I made use of it as well as I could, and when any one came near my hammock I told them to keep off, but I could scarcely lift the stick. The exertion I put myself to in these attempts caused me to fall asleep about 7 o'clock in the evening, I took the negroes' dose, and I slept soundly until disturbed by a messmate who came next morning a little after eight to see if I was dead, and had it not been for his clumsy anxiety on my account I could have slept longer, but he, uncertain whether I did breathe or not, in putting his hand to my mouth touched my face, and I said who is there? he made no answer, but ran to the berth, when the doctor's mate and other of my messmates came to be certain of the fact that I was alive; the crisis was then considered to be past; feeling hungry, sago and port wine were given me, and my Captain sent me word that a couple of bottles of port wine was at my service. These he could hardly afford to spare, and for them and the kind attention of my Captain I was very thankful, and the feelings which took possession of me in consequence of his humanity towards me, contributed greatly towards my restoration, and I thanked the Almighty most sincerely for this and all the great benefits bestowed through his divine grace upon me.

From this moment I got better, indeed it was considered that the exertions of my voice and stick contributed to keep off the languor which generally seizes on persons in the last stage of this terrible disorder. My messmates afterwards used to joke me by saying, "ah! you cheated the sharks of a meal." I soon gathered strength to crawl upon deck, where on the forecastle, after some days of convalescence, as I was walking, a shoal of flying fish, pursued by a dolphin, rose from the water, and flying towards the ship, a straggler as it flew across the forecastle, struck one of the rattlings, and in its fall hit my cheek, and dropped at my feet; I picked it up, and after broiling it, I eat it, and it was a great help to me at that time, as our mess was upon salt provisions. The monkeys that were brought aboard by the men at the island of Java became from their numbers quite a nuisance, as water

H.M.S. *VICTORY*, 1791

(From an engraving after the painting by Ralph Dodd, reproduced by permission from "The Mariner's Mirror.")

was scarce, therefore as it was thought unfair to select any in preference to the rest, the whole of them were let loose upon the rigging and shot at until all except two were killed, and these were permitted to live; the odd gambols of these monkeys, one may almost say our brethren, used to afford much entertainment to the men, upon the forecastle; they inhabited a hen coop before the foremast, and were not suffered to be taken below. They were at best but filthy and disgusting animals, and only fit for the broad laugh of Bartholomew fair.

On our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, it being the season of the year considered dangerous for ships to anchor in Table Bay, the frigate anchored on the east side of the promontory in False Bay, which is not subject to those heavy gusts of wind that sweep down the Table Mount, and drive all ships from their anchors upon the rocks; indeed, the government of Cape Town send notice to all captains of ships to quit that roadstead at that season of the year by such a time, which if they neglect to do, their loss afterwards is considered as the result of their own inattention. I believe, were that fact known, they would not be able to recover their insurance. As the sails and the water casks were in want of repair, tents were pitched on shore at the watering place, and a party of men sent, who remained on shore until they were completed, and such casks as were filled during the day were taken on board by the boats of the ship the next day, and other casks brought on shore. The sick were landed, and a house hired as an hospital; amongst the rest I went on shore, and in a very short time we all got so completely recovered as to be able to assist in the duty on shore. One of the greatest difficulties the medical men had to struggle against when this disorder took a favourable turn, was to prevent convalescents satisfying the ravenous appetite for food which seizes them; it not only frequently subjects them to a fit of jaundice but likewise causes their bellies to swell and stick out in such a manner as to require, like Falstaff, bands to keep it up, and what is worse than all, this extention

is rarely ever got rid of in an adult, so that a man, aye, a midshipman, may acquire a captain's belly, before he gets a lieutenant's commission. The surgeon, however, took care that none of ours should stick out, and at that time I used to wish him far enough for placing me upon short allowance.

As tigers and monkeys inhabit the mountains here, the inhabitants now and then take a ride singly on horseback with their guns in the morning, to shoot any of the former that may be lurking about, as it soon gets wind when they approach the town; but as to the monkeys, from their systematic way of acting, they are not so easy to be got at; indeed, except you watch for them before daylight, you can never catch them, or prevent their robbing your gardens, as they station sentinels near the houses, plant themselves in a long line and throw their pillage from one to another, by which craft they very soon clear the trees, and upon the slightest notice from their sentinels they all scamper off with whatever they have in their hands; if shot at, the alarm makes them only more cautious when they return, so that traps are by far the best mode if freeing the grounds of monkeys, as they seldom visit the spot where three or four of their comrades were left behind. Our bowsprit had been sprung and it being required, a spar was purchased and a new one made. The Dutch keep their spars buried in the sand, a little above low-water mark, which appears by far the best method of preserving timber, and subjecting it to the least variation, and it is certainly least expensive.

The ship, having completed, left False Bay on her return to England, and had, until she entered the English channel, a very fine passage; but the wind then setting strongly from the east, we were obliged, after beating some days, to put into Plymouth Sound; the next day, the wind shifting to the south south-west, drove in such a heavy sea as made the ship pitch bowsprit under, with two cables an end, and it was some days before we could have any communication with the shore. On the return of moderate weather, the ship sailed to

Spithead, where, with other of my shipmates, I went on shore at Portsmouth, and being but a boy, fell into the company and snares of artful persons, who are ever ready to throw temptations into the way of inexperienced youth, and lead them on until difficulties creep imperceptibly around and entangle them; then it is that these harpies take flight, and their victims are left to struggle with their fate, and clear themselves as well as they can. Many a young person has been trepanned and ruined: I however broke through the snares, and then clearly perceived the foul long claws and ravenous disposition of those artful persons by whom I had been entangled.

It being uncertain, as to the future destination of the *Vestal* frigate, I procured my discharge, and went to my parents in London, who were very glad to see me. During the voyage, being always alive to any thing going on on board, I used to frequent the carpenter's bench, the armourer's bench, and forge, and always attend the surgeon when he and his mates visited the sick; by them my assiduity was not only noticed but encouraged, and I gained much useful knowledge. A man-of-war is a complete town, where many trades are practised. When I was in the West Indies, in the *Mediator*, with Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, I frequently made part of my clothing, and always mended it, for though my Captain could have drawn upon my parents for thirty pounds a year, yet he was so careful of my money, that I believe he only drew for twenty pounds during the whole three years and a half that I was in the West Indies, so that I had barely necessaries; he seldom let me have any pocket money, always paying my mess and washing, himself; and I am thankful it did so happen that upon my first going to sea I was placed under so considerate a man as Captain Collingwood, necessity obliging me to do many things for myself, by which I gained a clearer view of mankind, and became in a certain degree enabled to discriminate those who have employed idle time to conduciveness.

THIRD VOYAGE

MY stay in London was not long, for the Admiral Lord Hood told my father, that "as your son has always been in active service at sea, it is necessary that he should become acquainted with the duties of a guard ship, and if you think proper I will procure his admission into one." To this he assented, and I joined the *Bellona*, a seventy-four gun ship, then laying in Portsmouth harbour. After being some months on board, a squadron of men-of-war being ordered off Weymouth to attend the King, this ship made one of it, and after our arrival off Weymouth, his Majesty George the Third, came in a frigate from Weymouth bay; a sham fight followed, and sailing round the frigate his Majesty was in, the squadron saluting as they passed, his Majesty returned to Weymouth. The squadron kept the sea a few days, and then returned into Portsmouth harbour.

In a guard ship, the duties vary from those of a ship at sea, and although not so active, yet they are such as all sea officers ought to become acquainted with early, for in them they more immediately get an insight into the general character of sailors and seamen, whom they may have to command one day or other. This is by no means the least duty with which a sea officer ought to be conversant.

On board this ship, one of those occurrences happened to me which not only impress the minds of young persons with distrust, but check that laudable zeal which the inexperience of youth conceives to be the road to advancement and honour. Having completed my full time of servitude as midshipman, I procured leave of absence to go to London, to pass; that is, to be examined as to my knowledge in seamanship, as no advancement in my profession could take place until it had been ascer-

tained how far my attainments, as a midshipman, had qualified me as a candidate for promotion.

The master of the *Bellona* had been the master of the ship in which I had sailed to the East Indies, and upon my getting leave to go to London, to pass my examination, made a demand upon me for two or three pounds, saying, that he had a few days before paid that sum for me to a person I owed it to in the ship when we went together to the East Indies; this demand I resisted, observing to him, that the person alluded to had come on board only a day or two before to wish us both good bye before he sailed, and had I owed him money he would certainly have asked me for it. The master of the *Bellona* persisted, however, in the demand, and said that he would draw for the sum upon my father. In a few days I received a letter from my father, to know if I owed such money; my answer was no, so the master's draft was not then paid. He carried his complaint to the Captain, who, without preface, asked me the reason why the draft was not paid. I replied that I owed no such sum, and therefore could not authorise his drawing a bill; that if I had owed it, the person having been on board only a few days before would certainly have asked me for the money. To all I said the Captain turned a deaf ear, and merely observed to me, "although you have asked leave to go to London to pass your examination, you shall not go until the money is paid." Finding it useless to say more, I wrote the case to my father, requesting him to pay the unjust demand; he did so, and I then had permission to go to town, but was restricted to the shortest time my passing would allow of.

I went to London, and, after strict examination,[1] had my certificate of qualification given me, so that I was fully eligible to a lieutenancy in the service. When this was over, I waited upon my father's friend the Admiral, Lord Hood, who at this time was one of the Lords of the Admiralty; to him I related without disguise the case just before mentioned, as it had occurred. The Admiral heard me with patience, and,

[1] He passed on 3rd February, 1790.

wishing me good morning, desired me to come to him again in three days. I did so, when he told me he intended to send me into a frigate, and " here (said he, giving me a letter) is the order for your discharge from the guard ship into the frigate, which is fitting at Portsmouth, and when you return to the *Bellona*, give it to the commanding officer." I went down in the coach to Portsmouth that night, and the next morning, between ten and eleven, went on board the guard ship. No sooner had I got up the side and reported myself, than the first lieutenant began to reprimand me for not returning to my leave, and immediately suspended me from duty until the Captain came on board : I begged that he would be so good as to hear what I had to say, but he flew into a passion, saying, " No, sir, I will not hear you ; " upon which I presented him with the letter, containing the order for my discharge, which I had brought from the Admiralty ; he snatched it out of my hand, saying that he would not grant it until he had the Captain's order ; upon which I observed, in that case I must write to the Admiralty by that night's post, to acquit myself of any neglect in having presented the order.

By this time several of the officers upon deck (for the sails were loosing to dry) had gathered round, and some of them observed to the first lieutenant, that it would be very wrong to refuse complying with the order, upon which the Captain's clerk was sent for to consult with, who upon reading it, observed, that it was imperative. My discharge into the frigate was then made out, and I went on board of her with a joy of heart only known to those who have found themselves treated with injustice, and got clear of their tormentors. Many of my shipmates would gladly have quitted her with me, but their interest, perhaps, or their nerves were not so compactly strung as mine. Some few days after this, I was told that the Captain had taken his coxswain from the boat, and placed him on the quarter-deck, with orders for his being messed in one of the midshipmen's berths, against which the young gentlemen remonstrated, on the ground that the

coxswain, in his capacity of coxswain, had been employed in menial services, such as taking the Captain's foul linen, to wash, and other low offices : these remonstrances availed them nothing, and upon some little difference with this ci-devant coxswain, shortly after, two or three of the midshipmen were under the necessity of leaving the ship.

The frigate I now belonged to was the *Pearl*, carrying 32 guns, 12 pounders, commanded by Captain George William Augustus Courteney, and was fitting out : when equipped she went to cruise in the Channel, where, after beating about a few months, she received orders to sail for Plymouth, and complete for foreign service. From thence she went to Guernsey, and remained three or four days, and then took her departure for the Mediterranean. How long we were on the passage I do not recollect, nor does it signify, my object being to glance generally at what regards my own career. The first land we made after quitting the island of Guernsey, was the heights of Ceuta, on the African coast, and the next day the ship beat into Gibraltar bay. As I had a letter of introduction to the Lieutenant-Governor, General O'Hara, I waited upon his Excellency, who received me with kindness, and invited me to dinner, where I met my Captain, and returned on board with him in the evening. The ship remained at Gibraltar some little time, so that when I could get leave to go on shore, I visited the fortifications and all else worth seeing ; amongst which was a cave, about half way up the rock, which is said to go a great way under ground ; its entrance is romantic, as from its vault the oozings have congealed into fantastic forms to the very ground, which apparently have been hundreds of years in forming.

Being desirous of visiting the neutral grounds, and the back of the rock, a messmate, the Hon. Charles Elphinstone,[1] and myself, hired a couple of mules to carry us there. We quitted the garrison, and away we rode to the back of the rock, but getting into a bad track,

[1] A son of the 11th Lord Elphinstone, and a nephew of George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith.

we were led by it amongst the rocks at the water's edge. We had not gone far before the blowing of a horn gave us notice that the miners were going to blast; they were at the top of the slope that forms the base of the rock on the east side looking up the Mediterranean sea, and we were nearly under them, leading our mules, which we would have mounted and rode away, but these stubborn animals would not stir when we got upon them. The miners, after making signs to us, went away higher up out of sight: the instant after, bang! bang! went the blast two or three times, up flew the dust, and down came rolling large pieces of rock. We had just time to get under the projecting part of a large rock, when we heard bound! bound! and down came tumbling a huge piece of rock, which, just as it appeared ready to crush us, mules and all, bounded right over our heads into the water. This huge piece of rock was at least fifteen feet square, and how we and our mules escaped being crushed to death I often wonder; but so it was, and they who would not stir before, seemed very glad now, when we mounted to get away, and went trotting toward home; we, however, were bent upon giving them a good gallop along the neutral ground for their stubbornness, accordingly, when we got clear off the back of the rock, we put them into a gallop, and kept them to it all round the sand by the Spanish lines.

As we were returning to the garrison, our mules would turn off to the left in spite of all we could do, and presently there was a confounded bad smell; my companion's mule stood still in a kind of mire; mine went up close to his and stood still likewise; both of them were knee deep in what, I very soon discovered, to be the filth of all the garrison, which was emptied there as being beyond offensive distance. In this predicament our mules would not stir, and as we were in the midst of it, and as it appeared at least two hundred feet in diameter, we knew not what to do; my companion's mule then shewed symptoms of rolling, and he had but just time to get off when it took a famous roll, burying itself, saddle and all, except its

head, in the filth, from which it grunted with a kind of malignant joy. My companion was above his knees, and afraid to stir lest he should fall into some hole; by whipping and spurring I kept my mule from rolling, and when the other got upon its legs again, its rider remounted, there being no alternative; at last we succeeded in getting from this situation to the sea side, where my companion washed his legs and the saddle of his mule as well as he could; after which we made the best of our way to the gates of the town, and entering just as the parades of the different regiments had broken up, we so perfumed the air as we gallopped through the main street, that both officers and men were very sensible of the situation in which we had been, for they held their noses, and laughed most heartily as we passed to the inn. After making ourselves as decent as we could, we went on board our ship, where, on relating our adventure, we were well laughed at by our shipmates.

On quitting Gibraltar, the ship sailed up the Mediterranean to Villa Franca, where we anchored in a very secure harbour, which, excepting the entrance, is surrounded by high hills: complimentary salutes were given and returned, and afterwards those midshipmen who chose had permission to go on shore. The Hon. Charles Elphinstone and myself, having letters to the English Consul, walked over the hill to Nice, gave our letters to the Consul, who asked us to dinner, and let us have what money we wanted for our bills on England. The ship remaining some days at Villa Franca, we got further permission to stay on shore and establish ourselves at an inn, which fronts the square, where some more of our companions, the midshipmen, joined us. We dined rather late for this part of the world, for our dessert came on table when the Piedmontese assembled in the square for recreation and to play at *volánte*, a game played by adverse parties, who stand at a great distance from each other, when one of the adverse party strikes a large ball with all his force, driving it a great height in the air, while the other party endeavour to meet it as it falls, and strikes it

back with greater force; should the striker miss his blow, another strikes it on the bound it makes from the ground: each of the opposite party have one hand armed with an oblong piece of wood, knotted all round like a pine apple, hollow in the middle for the hand to go in, where a stick across is let in to hold it by, so that the blow when given with the arm in full swing sends the ball very high in the air, and does not even jar the striker's hand.

From Villa Franca, the ship proceeded to Leghorn, from whence with a party of midshipmen, as I had letters of introduction both for Leghorn and Florence, we took a carriage, and went to the latter place. I was well received at Florence by the gentleman to whom I had a letter, and, at his request, I brought my companions to dinner, and we found it very agreeable for the time we stayed. The Picture Gallery of the Grand Duke of Tuscany so drew my attention, that I passed daily much of my time there. It was there that I acquired a general taste for the fine arts, and became sensible of the delight arising from contemplating that vast and magnificent collection; indeed, so continually was my attendance there, that the man who conducted the hurrying daily visitants through the apartments, used to leave me by myself to wander as I pleased; where, absorbed in the beauties of the surrounding objects, I generally remained until the doors were going to close. In the evening I went to the opera, and here again the fine full voice of the singers, with the accompaniments, ravished me.

The ballet had likewise its charms, but that was only secondary, my years not being sufficiently ripe for the imagination to *fuse* and *ramble* at the *soupless* of the *dancers*; yet still I admired the *tout ensemble*, and, when my leave was out, felt a reluctance to return on board the ship, which lay in Leghorn Roads. While at Florence, my companions and myself did many foolish and thoughtless things; for, being inconsiderate and sailor-like, we looked upon other people, particularly foreigners, as only secondary beings; but, *experience in distant climes*, has shewn me that this great error

is in the education of Englishmen, and I am sorry for those inconsiderate sallies of my youth. That time is past, however, and I often reflect upon the good sense and kindness those people shewed, by not noticing the fooleries of thoughtless boys, who I am certain would not have been so sensibly passed over and disregarded in their own country. I shall, however, though I feel ashamed, relate one or two of those follies.

While at the English hotel at Florence, we amused ourselves in firing our pistols at a brick in the house on the opposite side of the street, until an officer of the police came and made inquiries; the master of the hotel, in excusing us, said it only proceeded from a parcel of English sailor boys, and so far it passed off, and he civilly came and requested us to desist. Another freak was, as we were walking out it came on to rain, and seeing a gentleman dressed in what we thought a ridiculous way for the morning, wearing pink silk breeches, a light blue silk waistcoat, a light silk coat, silk hat, and silk stockings, with an umbrella in his hand held over his head, though it scarcely sprinkled, I walked up to him, and gently taking hold of his umbrella, he yielded it, and making him understand where we wanted to go, got him to shew us the way, which he did, and when we got there, I gave him his umbrella, upon which he made us a bow. Such foolish tricks as these are practised only by the English, and we were really lucky in escaping the punishment we most richly deserved. Our leave of absence being expired, we returned to Leghorn; but before going on ship board, we took a good view of a group of bronze figures, which stand upon the quay, and they are undoubtedly very finely executed, and well worth the inspection of amateurs.

Some days after our return, the ship quitted Leghorn for Genoa. This city is certainly very fine and magnificent, far surpassing any I ever saw; its streets towards the west end of the town are really streets of palaces, paved all over with large flag stones; the nobles here, as well as in many parts of Italy, dress generally in black. While our ship lay in the Mole.

a couple of Genoese war-gallies came in from sea; it was a little before dusk, and their men were upon the yard furling the main sail; as the sternmost of the two was going across our hawses, one of the men jumped from the yard into the water and swam to our ship, got up the side, ran aft, and wrapped himself in the ensign, where he considered himself safe from slavery, and as he was not afterwards reclaimed, he remained on board, and when we went to another port he was put ashore. This circumstance to me seemed a great feather in the cap of England; it made the blood boil in my veins at such generous protection, endearing my country more to me if it were possible. It is so generally understood along the coast of the Mediterranean, that a slave (a Galèrian) escaping and getting on board a British ship of war, is free; indeed, upon a ship of war going into their harbours, it is frequently requested of the Captain not to sanction his boat bringing on board slaves, who, seeking freedom, as it is called, are only endeavouring to escape the punishment due to their crimes. This I believe is generally acquiesced in, but should one of these escape the vigilance of their guards, and get on board a British ship of war and claim the protection of the flag, I believe they would not be given up, although claimed by the authorities. How this can be viewed as to its justice, when in amity with those whose hospitality we are enjoying, is not my business; would such open hostility to the law be permitted in the ports of England?

Upon the arrival of a ship in an Italian port, musicians come off in boats, and keep playing astern of the ship; their music is good, and they always seem satisfied if in return they receive a trifle for the amusement they afford you.

Our ship's cruize up the Mediterranean being completed, she returned to Gibraltar; from thence she went to Tangiers, a town situated on the Barbary coast, where she remained two or three days. I had occasion to go on shore, and found the town but a poor place; its appearance from the sea is very beautiful,

but its houses are small, the streets narrow, and a disagreeable odour pervades the whole place. The Moors are a fine race of men, but by no means conversable, and except you have dealings with them, little intercourse takes place between them and strangers. Many Jews reside here; they are treated like dogs by the Moors, who think nothing of giving them a good drubbing if they do not make way for them in the streets; and, certainly, since these people bear such pointed illtreatment patiently, their profit no doubt remunerates them. Strangers are not allowed to enter their mosques; and such persons as are possessed or mad, are allowed to go about the town unheeded; they are frequently seen standing at the corner of the streets foaming at the mouth, nor must any one molest them, for they are considered by the populace either to be saints or inspired.

All the Moors wear the dagger or sabre in their belts; the edge of the sabre is on the inner curve of the blade; they are all excellent shots with the musket, and now and then amuse themselves, in a friendly way, by firing a musket loaded with a single ball towards your boat as she goes off from the shore, merely to show you how dexterously a ball can be sent, so close as just to make the water besprinkle you a little, but this is done laughingly, and without any intention to offend. Red-legged partridges are very plentiful here, and are sold alive in wooden cages, that hold from two to four dozen, and these cages are found very convenient to keep them in on board; we bought two or three cages of them for sea stock.

Being very fond of swimming when a lumping sea was going, I took the opportunity of going overboard whenever that was the case, and Tangier roadstead was a famous place for this amusement when the least breeze set in from the westward, and as the current sets to the west, it causes a good deal of sea; my plan was to get overboard from the forecastle, and keep swimming against the waves until the tide carried me as far aft as the main chains, where a rope hung overboard, by which I got up the side; but my shipmates,

though they liked swimming, seldom or ever partook of the sport at such times, other than standing upon the gangway, while I amused myself alongside buffetting with the waves. It was while laying here that one of the younkers, a spunky boy, being desirous of learning to swim, asked me if I would let him put his hands upon my shoulders if he came down the gangway steps to the water's edge; to which I consented, on his promising to do as I told him; he did so, and I floated him to the rope from over the quarter-deck, where he got into the main chains. By this time the gangway was lined by the curious, and the younker then told me he would jump from the fore chains if I would take care of him. I agreed, and sure enough he jumped in and sunk; on his rising, I put my hand under his chin, telling him not to alarm himself, but to strike out; he did so, and after he had made two or three strokes, I withdrew my hand, and he swam very well, so that those who lined the gangway applauded the younker by clapping their hands. This younker had used to be very much tormented by many of the midshipmen, but after this he was not persecuted any more.

A rumour of war,[1] upon our return to Gibraltar, beginning to rumble, the ship was ordered off the port of Cadiz, to take a peep and see what the Spaniards were about; and a few days after our arrival upon our cruizing ground, the Spaniards, not liking our standing close into Cadiz in the morning, to discover what they were about, sent out a line of battle ship to frighten us off our station. As soon as she came within gun shot, we beat to quarters, and put the ship before the wind in order to decoy her off the land, as well as to give us time to get all ready to receive her. Our ship was upon the peace establishment, and short upon the quarter-deck of some hands: I was quartered there as aid-de-camp to the Captain, who, wishing to engage from the starboard side, wanted one of the guns from the other to be got over, which quite alone I did, so that none of the men were broke off from other things; the gun was a long six-pounder. When all

[1] This was the "Spanish Armament" of 1790.

was prepared, and about three leagues from the land, we hauled to the wind, upon which the line of battle ship did the same; we stood under easy sail, and she made the best of her way into port again, where she got before sunset.

We kept cruizing off Cadiz until we were in want of provisions, when we sailed for Lisbon, and anchored in the Tagus. Having letters of introduction from my father to the Chevalier de Pincto, who at this time was in Portugal the Minister for Foreign Affairs as well as Prime Minister, and also letters to the Chevalier Pollon, the Envoy from the Two Sicilies, and likewise to the English Consul General, I went on shore, and waited upon them all; but my reception at the Chevalier de Pincto amused me very much, when I went on shore to see the world, and therefore I will relate it. When I got to his palace, I was ushered into a room where a number of officers and clergymen were busy in conversation, who immediately I entered honored me with a general gaze, I suppose from my being in a midshipman's uniform; after a few minutes had elapsed, a servant in rich livery came up to me to inquire my business with his Excellency; I gave him my father's letter, and he gave it to an officer, who gave it to a gentleman in plain clothes, who, upon another gentleman coming out of a room adjoining, he with apparent respect presented it to him; this person looked at the letter, and then me, and then disappeared. In three or four minutes he returned; all eyes were fixed upon him; he came directly to me, and told me that his Excellency would see me as soon as he had finished with a person who was with him, and that he was desired to wait by me, and conduct me to his Excellency when the other gentleman came away.

All eyes were now more on me, and I was soon surrounded by many persons, who asked the person who brought me the message some questions which I could not understand; presently after out came two servants in rich liveries; they held back the curtain that covered the door way, when out came a portly ecclesiastic, the company bowing respectfully as he

passed. When he was gone, the person requested me to follow him; we passed the curtain into another room, and through that into another, where I found the Chevalier, who received me very kindly, and after many inquiries about my parents, begged I would come and dine with him. My visit was short, so, wishing him a good morning, I passed through the rooms, the servant opening the curtains, and leaving the palace, I went to the Inn; when, after adjusting myself, I returned to his Excellency's. The servants had been upon the look out for me for some time, and they observed, as I entered, that dinner was partly over, for the dinner hour was one o'clock, which I did not know. On entering the dining-room, there was a company of about thirteen persons, mostly ecclesiastics, and three or four ladies; a plentiful supply was soon brought me, and as soon as dinner was over, coffee was served, and the company separated. During my stay at Lisbon, I went chiefly to Sir John Horts, the Consul General, or the Chevalier Pollons, and of an evening to the opera or rooms, passing my time very agreeably.

At a short distance from Lisbon, there is a stupendous aqueduct, extending across a large valley, joining the two hills that form the valley, and by it the water is conducted to supply the city; the centre arch is so high, that it would admit a first-rate man of war to pass under it in full sail. Nothing is more common at Lisbon than to see persons decorated with the Order of CHRIST selling fish, and other things by auction, on the place where you land, which to a sailor, who is taught to consider persons wearing decorations of this kind as of superior merit, has a very strange appearance. Assassination takes place almost every night at Lisbon, and it is dangerous to be in the streets after dark; indeed, every morning during my stay, I saw one, sometimes two, dead bodies of persons who had been stabbed, laying on the steps at the church door close to the market place, with a blanket thrown over them, where they remained a certain time, or until owned and removed; indeed I have understood, that any

person murdering another, had only to seek the sanction of the nearest church, and that then they were free from the clutches of the law.

Whilst the ship had been cruising off Cadiz, such very gross language had been used towards me by the first lieutenant, that I felt it impossible to remain in the ship with credit to myself or to the class of which I was one; therefore, I took the first opportunity to wait upon my Captain after the ship's arrival at Lisbon, and solicited my discharge from the ship; he was exceedingly sorry for the cause, and assured me, if I chose to remain, he would prevent a repetition of such behaviour; this, in justice to myself, and to that branch of the profession to which I belonged, would have been inconsistent with what was due to both, so I procured my discharge from the service altogether, and as soon as I could get plain clothes made, I went on board the frigate as a private individual, to seek redress for the insult offered. When I went on board I was well received by all the officers, and I think the first lieutenant felt that his conduct to me had been unwarrantable, but it was too late, no medium was left me after the step he had forced me to take; I therefore told him that he must satisfy that honour he had so severely wounded: after some observations, he agreed to my request, and sent for all the officers, petty and warrant, into the gun room, before whom he acknowledged very properly his error and sorrow.

In the eyes of all on board my conduct was considered perfectly consistent, but should others consider my terms of redress severe, they have only to take a glance how a young man, belonging to an honourable profession, can in certain cases get redress; the point of honour had been wounded; and on reviewing the whole with impartiality, it will be seen how tenderly I regarded the discipline of the service which I had been brought up in, by first procuring my discharge from it altogether, and returning to the station of a private individual, before I took the least step for redress; and I hope to the honourable mind, my conduct will neither be found deficient, or too assuming; I pursued the only

path which was left open to me, notwithstanding the great inconvenience, as well as hazard, I ran in so doing.

In a few days I went on board a brig sloop of war, lying in the Tagus, which sailed for England. During the whole of our passage it blew a gale of wind, and the vessel was literally under water, although in no danger; and the first land we made was the Needle-lights, at ten at night; it blew a hard gale, quite dark, but by the lights and the lead we got through, and anchored in Yarmouth Road for the night, and the next morning sailed to Spithead, where I left the ship, and joined my parents, who still resided in London, and were glad to see me, and found no fault with my proceedings.

FOURTH VOYAGE

AS it was still profound peace, I employed my time in my favourite amusements, sketching, drawing, and painting; which, beside the advantages of imperceptible improvement, became the means of my gaining the acquaintance of men reputed as the first of that profession, and I was readily admitted into their painting rooms while they were painting, and by this indulgence I began to acquire a strength of pencil, and an insight into that art, which has ever since fascinated me. My application to these my favourite studies was not of long duration, for a powerful fleet [1] being assembled at Spithead, I was sent on board the flag ship of the Commander-in-Chief. This was again a new life to me, for it may be said with propriety, that a first-rate man-of-war, when flag ship, is in all respects a court afloat; but when she bears the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, she is completely so. Although the duties on board of a flag ship are much the same, yet a vast difference is visible in the general tone of things, and the character that man assumes there is other than that aboard private ships, and a great deal is to be learnt by those who wish to qualify themselves for command. The political difference that caused this armament was soon adjusted, and a general dismantling followed, and myself and many more were again thrown out of commission, to employ ourselves on shore for the future advantage of our country.

Soon after this my father procured, by an intimate friend of his, Baron Secondorf, Secretary of State to the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, Governor of the Low Countries, my reception at the Abbey of St. Martin's at Tournay, where I was to go and learn the French lan-

[1] The "Russian Armament" of 1791.

guage. An officer, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, who had come to England to procure horses for his establishment, being on the eve of departure, proposed my going with him as far as Ostend. I met him at Dover, and assisted him in procuring and making arrangements for the vessels to carry the horses; three packets were hired, and when the horses arrived they were embarked, and we left Dover in the afternoon, and got safe to Ostend the next day. Here we separated, the aid-de-camp going to Brussels, and I by the canal to Bruges and Ghent, and from thence by the diligence to Tournay. I was much amused by the size of the diligence, but found it a good, safe, and convenient conveyance.

It was evening when I arrived at Tournay, and a porter took my trunk and led the way to the Abbey; the great gate at the entrance was already closed, but, upon ringing, a fat porter in livery opened it: he was aware of my coming, and leading me across a spacious court yard, entered by a large flight of steps into a great hall, and from thence into a room on the right, where he begged me to wait while he took the letter I gave him to the abbot. In about a quarter of an hour two elderly men, habited in the dress of their order, entered, and after many congratulations of welcome (which by the bye I did not understand for want of practice in the French language) I made out that they wished to know if I would have something to eat, and upon my saying "*oui*," an excellent supper of fish was soon served, and they gave me to understand it was a meagre day. When I had finished my supper, I was shewn upstairs to my bedroom, which was very large, with an immense bed in it: here they wished me good night, and I retired to rest.

The next morning a servant man lighted my fire, and then made signs to me if I wanted breakfast, and upon my sign of yes, he brought me a bottle of wine, a loaf of bread, and a little square cheese. I made signs to him that I did not drink wine in the morning, but that it was tea, bread and butter, milk, and sugar that I wanted for breakfast: at this he seemed aston-

ished, and hoped I was not *malade*; however he would send to the *apothecaire*. In a short time he returned with some excellent green tea in a bottle; I then had a coffee-pot and some boiling water, and soon made myself some excellent tea, and with an abundant supply of cream, bread, butter and sugar, made an excellent breakfast. My hearty meal was scarcely over, when the two elderly men sent to inquire how I had slept, and that they would be glad to come and pay their respects. I was delighted to see them, and they both laughed heartily at my having made a breakfast of tea, giving me to understand that tea was very bad for the nerves. One of these persons I found afterwards was the abbot, and the other the maitre d'hotel, an office of great trust in the abbey. I was then conducted over the convent and through the gardens, and upon their taking leave of me at my room door, the abbot presented me with a master key, by which I could go every where except into the private rooms of the different monks. The next thing the abbot did for me was appointing a monk to superintend me in the French language, another to instruct me in music, and a third, to whom I could apply to as a guide to shew me over the convent, and be with me at all times when I was so disposed. With these three good people I very soon became acquainted, and they seemed quite delighted at the office assigned them. At half-past eleven, a servant came to say the abbot would be glad to see me: I immediately followed, and found him with the maitre d'hotel in the room into which I was first shewn, waiting to conduct me to dinner, which he told me was at half-past eleven, and supper at six, and that he would shew me the way once for all: he led me by the hand into another part of the abbey, along corridors and cloisters, into a very large hall, at least 160 feet long by 95 or 96 broad, and lofty in proportion, on each side of which were long tables spread; two rows of monks stood within the square of the tables, and upon the entrance of the abbot they all bowed; he walked up the middle of the hall, and when he came to the upper end he faced round to the

monks, and one of the junior monks stepping out from the rest, chanted grace.

We then sat down to dinner, the abbot at the head of one of the tables, placing me on his right, when in a few moments, one servant following another loaded the tables with different dishes, including six varieties ; the same were served to the whole community, and placed in the middle of the table. The service was pewter, and by each person's plate a half pint of wine was served in a pewter pot with a cover to it, a tumbler glass, and a bottle of water ; strong beer was given to those who called for it as often as they chose. After dinner a dessert was served, but no more wine. At an appointed time the abbot rose from the table, and so did all the brotherhood ; then placing themselves in the same order as they were in on our entry within the square of the tables, said grace ; after which the abbot walked down the middle, and the others opposite each other fell in two by two, all chanting as they walked through the cloisters until they came to a particular place, where, before a crucifix, a prayer was repeated, and then separating, each went to his own room, when a further allowance of wine was brought them, and they either passed a couple of hours alone, or made parties with each other, taking a cheerful glass convivially, with fruit and coffee ; after which they all assembled for afternoon service in the church, and after that was over they were left to themselves until supper time, which was at six o'clock : there was little variation between that and dinner. Each friar had his own apartments, some two and some three rooms, according to the rank held in the convent ; these apartments are in a part of the abbey called the *refractoire*, and within these precincts none enter, except of the convent.

After the prayers of thanks to the Almighty in the dining hall when dinner was over, the abbot gave me to understand that my accompanying the fraternity to the crucifix in the cloister, when they all knelt to repeat their prayers for the blessing they enjoyed, would be dispensed with. I, therefore, being brought up to the

Church of England, never trespassed upon the private devotions of the community, although I could not help admiring their attentiveness to all points of their religion, during both day and night; at midnight the community assembled for prayers, as well as at five in the morning, all the year through, excepting those who were unable to attend from illness. The abbot and forty-one of this order made up the community at the Abbey Saint Martin. The servants of the establishment were not compelled to such devout adorations; they were all men. The abbey is large, and enriched with princely revenues, having the particular privileges of being only obliged to lodge and receive members of the Royal Family. The apartments destined for them are vast, upon the first floor, and the whole extent of the building in front; one of these apartments I occupied. The two wings are separated by a large banqueting hall, the whole communicating one with the other. It was some time before I could find my way readily over the building, and often, after wandering up and down, I found myself at the same spot again, where I generally remained until I heard the step of some of the monks, who always very readily set me right, or conducted me where I wanted to go.

The town became the next object of my search: it is prettily situated upon a little rise, with the Scheld running through it; the citadel is a regular fortification, and near the Abbey St. Martin; there is likewise a cathedral, and a convent of nuns: there was also a very good theatre, which was well served and attended, so that my time passed away very pleasantly. In a little time I began to speak French fluently; indeed no other language is spoken here. The abbot used frequently to give dinners; these were always served on plate, in apartments separate from the *refractoire*, and at one o'clock, but only two of the friars dined with him on these occasions, the maitre d'hotel, on whom the superintendance of the internal concerns of the abbey devolved, and the friar who superintended the external concerns; and as I was a great favourite with the abbot, as well as with all the rest of the

community, I was always invited, and very soon was known by the name of *L'enfant gaté de la Maison.* The friars used generally after dinner to make little parties amongst themselves; at such times they were permitted to purchase a few bottles of wine from the cellar, and though perhaps enough, it was not abundant, therefore upon these occasions they frequently had recourse to me, knowing I had an unlimited permission to have what I wanted, and as they were all good people, I generally kept some few bottles under my bed for the pleasure of obliging them, and I must say that they were not only moderate in asking, but likewise seldom took more than a couple of bottles when it was at their option to take more. This was, however, attended with a little risk on their part, for on going from my apartments they were necessitated either to descend the great staircase, or pass close by the door of the abbot's apartments, which were in the *refractoire,* and of which I had a master key: this latter was at least four hundred yards nearer.

One day the friar who instructed me in music, came to my apartments for a couple of bottles of wine; he took them both at one time, one in each pocket, and as his dress was a long black gown, reaching down to the ankles, confined to the body by a zone of the same colour, and the pockets of it in the pleats on each side behind, he was obliged to walk very slow, lest the bottles by the swag of his gown in walking should hit each other. In passing by the abbot's door, he thought some one was coming out; he took fright, and in his hurry to turn the corner of the next cloister, his pockets swayed one against the other, when one of the bottles cracked and out leaked the wine, leaving a track all the way upon the bricks of the cloisters to his room door: as soon as he got there, and had emptied his pockets, he came to me quite out of breath, not knowing what to do, so away I went with him, and when we came to the track, I took out my pocket knife, and, scraping the wet part, effaced every appearance of his misfortune, to his no small joy; and to punish him for his awkwardness, I insisted upon his going back with

me, when I reloaded his pockets, observing that he always made me repeat those passages on the violin when any little difficulty occurred, or when I played them in a slovenly manner. The friar told me, the next day, that had he been found out, his punishment would have been severe. The church was a large and magnificent building, with an excellent organ.

I used frequently by way of fun, to teaze the good old friars by making them believe that I would go and blow out the consecrated lamp, which was kept burning night and day before the altar, and off I would run; upon this the friars used to run after me as fast as they could along the cloisters leading to the church, and when I got to the lamp I used to stop until they came, when I gave them a dance round the pillars, making as if I would blow out the lamp, round which they formed a ring to prevent my getting within reach of it. This used to make them puff and blow at a great rate, so that their fat sides seemed to pant. I never seriously intended to blow out the lamp, but I found this the only way of getting them to exert themselves. All these little circumstances used to be reported to the abbot, and the good man had many a hearty laugh at the different stories which were told him about the dance I not unfrequently led his brethren. The abbot used now and then, in the summer time, to go out to a country seat to dine, and upon these occasions he took me with him in his coach and four, driven by a fat coachman. One very hot day after dinner, when walking in the garden close to some large fish ponds, I asked him if he would like to see me swim; his answer being in the affirmative, I stripped myself in a minute, plunged in head foremost, brought up a handful of mud from the bottom, and then began to play a number of tricks, tumbling head over heels in the water, to the no small entertainment of the friars, and the water being above eight feet deep with plenty of space, I amused the good people very much, and made them laugh to that degree, that it set some of the old ones a coughing, and they begged me to desist, saying they had never seen any one swim as I did before, and it

was soon spread how very expert the little English sailor was in swimming, and from this it was concluded that all English sailors were equally so.

The war[1] of the French revolution being upon the point of breaking out, the Austrian troops were fast assembling in the vicinity of Tournay. The Duke of Saxe-Teschen, the Governor of the Payebas, was daily expected to fix his head quarters at the abbey, and as my apartments were wanted, I was removed into the *refractoire*, where I had one large room instead of those I occupied. All was bustle, getting ready to receive the Duke; centinels placed at different avenues of the abbey, for the household had already arrived. One afternoon, notice was given that the Duke was coming; the abbot, superiors, and all the friars of the establishment were assembled in the great hall, to receive the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. I took my station on the upper part of the steps that led from the court yard before the house up to the great hall, where I saw every thing that was going on, and in a few minutes the trampling of horses announced the approach of his Royal Highness; but what pleased me more than all was my discovering my friend the aid-de-camp, with whom I had come from Dover to Ostend, among the group, and no sooner was he alighted than we welcomed each other in the true style of the continent. In a short time afterwards, the abbot came to tell me that the Duke's first Minister, Baron Secondorf, wanted to see me. This was the friend of my father, who had interested himself in my behalf in procuring my reception at the Abbey St. Martin. I found him an exceedingly good and kind person; he immediately led me by the hand and presented me to the Duke, who seemed very much pleased with the *naivette* of my answers to his questions, and from that time I was always one at the Duke's table, where generally from twenty to thirty sat down.

The company consisted of General Officers, Colonels of regiments, amongst whom were Generals Clerfait, Starry, Colonel Brown, Prince of Wirtemburg, General

[1] War declared by France against Austria, 20th April, 1792.

Belgrade, Colonel Merfelt, and several others, all men of reputed abilities in their profession. General Baron de Secondorf, my father's friend, was Secretary of State to the Duke, and the person I came from Dover with was Baron Schaffelitzky, the Duke's Master of the Horse, so I had every advantage possible a young person could have on his travels. I generally rode with the Duke on his tour of observations, accompanied by his *état Major*, all of whom were on horseback. Upon these occasions, like a thoughtless sailor boy as I was, instead of keeping amongst the General Officers and others who accompanied the Duke, I kept before all; and upon one of these excursions, an aid-de-camp rode up to me, and observed that no person ever went before the Duke, upon which I instantly turned my horse into the rear. The Duke, whose eye was quick, asked the officer what he had been saying to me, who answering him in German, and after the cavalcade had gone a little further, the Duke desired the aid-de-camp to tell me from him that it was his wish that I should ride as I liked, so I rode up to his Royal Highness and thanked him, and resumed my station in the van, which seemed to please him much. This and other little kindnesses of the Duke drew upon me the eyes of those who frequented head quarters, and as I was particularly fond of fencing, I always found some officer or other kind enough to take a foil with me. In two or three weeks after the arrival of the Duke, the Archduchess and Archduke Charles came to head quarters, and I was introduced to them both. The Archduke Charles generally every day took a lesson on horseback, superintended by the Master of the Horse, and during these lessons I was mostly present, and after he had ended, the Baron, when time would allow, gave me one likewise, so that in a little time I could manage the horse pretty well, and got complimented upon my improvement.

The town of Lisle was at this time upon the point of siege, and the Duke had his head quarters removed from the abbey to near Lisle. His private secretary was left at the abbey, and as I wanted much to be at the siege, he wrote to the Baron Secondorf, who

sent back for him to bring me with him when he came, and in two or three days after we set off in the secretary's carriage. The road from Tournay to the camp before Lisle was literally crowded with troops, cannon, and ammunition wagons, going and returning. After our arrival at this place, I had a cupboard close to the dining room to sleep in, and clean straw was my bed. As Baron Schaffelitzky every morning went to visit the intrenchments and report to the Duke, I, by often begging, got him one morning to let me go with him : he furnished me with a good horse, telling me to mind and follow him, for as soon as we should come into the line of fire from the fortifications of the town of Lisle, he could not attend to me ; away we rode, followed by an orderly dragoon, and as he took the shortest way, we went direct over the ploughed fields. The weather had been very rainy, and the fields were very heavy, so that no great speed was possible as we skirted a wood that secured us from a sight of the town, but in about twenty minutes' ride, we turned the corner of the wood round to the right, along a road quite exposed for about two miles, in front of the fortifications of Lisle. No sooner had we come upon it, than the Master of the Horse set off at a sharp trot, and I followed at some distance behind ; we were no sooner perceived, than they fired at us three times, the balls however passed over our heads, and entering the wood kept lopping the trees as they flew along ; at the other end of the road we again found shelter in the wood, where the troops were busily completing the batteries which were to play upon the town.

Here I had an excellent occasion of observing the practice of war on shore, and as the regiments at work there were on the point of being relieved in the trenches, it was quite amusing to see with what coolness and order one division left the line of fire while the other took its place ; some wounded men were carried away whilst I was there. The French in the town knew very well the time of relief, and they did not spare either shot or shells then. We remained two hours visiting every place, and as we went back the same

way we came, they gave us three shots more. This was the first time I had been in the fire, and without any bragging, I confessed I liked it; and the horse seemed to know when the balls, from their whizzing, would pass before or behind him, as mine certainly checked its pace, or accelerated it, as he thought proper, and this was so visible to me after the second ball, that I did no more than keep my seat and let the horse manage for us both. From this duty, my friend generally got back to head quarters in time for breakfast, and the Duke laughed very much when he told him that I had been in the trenches, and asked if I intended to go again; upon my saying yes, the Duke spoke in German to the Baron, who next morning slipped away without me, and upon my asking him why he did not call me as he promised, he told me there was no horse, and that the Duke had directed him not to take me lest I should get hurt; this was certainly a disappointment.

In a few days after this, the batteries were reported to be ready to play upon the town, and the Duke, with the whole of the *état Major*, went to an eminence a little to the left of the intrenchment to view the bombardment, which, upon a signal given, a general fire opened along the line of these intrenchments. The horse I was upon trembled so much, that I was advised to get off; I did so, and having provided myself with pencil and paper, I made a sketch of the bombardment. The day was remarkably fine, so that with the assemblage of military officers, the roaring of the cannon, smoke rising from the wood, and the bursting of shells in the air as they flew along, the coup d'œiel was imposing. The firing was incessant on both sides, and a little before sun set, the Duke returned to head quarters, where at an early hour we sat down to supper. During the time the Duke remained here, no public dinners were given, so that with Baron de Secondorf, his Private Secretary, Master of the Horse, and Master of the Household, and self, making in all six, the dinner was began and concluded; it consisted of soup, with four other dishes. In three days after the opening of the

trenches I returned to the abbey with the private secretary, and being anxious to see the duty of advanced posts, got introduced to a very active officer on that service, and when he came next to the abbey, for this always remained a kind of head quarters, I returned with him on horseback, and found that he and his advanced guard resided together in one large barn, which he had divided into two rooms; the outer one served the men for messing and sleeping, and the other he kept for himself for the same purpose; plenty of clean straw served for beds; no person took off their clothes at night, all laying down with them on; in the corners of the room were piled the men's loaded muskets with bayonets fixed against the wall, and in the day a few of the men were allowed to take off some of their clothes by turns at stated times, but not until an additional centry had been advanced towards the main guard of the French, by which all was in a manner guarded against surprise.

At this time, a position was to be reconnoitred, to ascertain whether intrenchments had been thrown up by the French, and four volunteers were required for the expedition, and I begged to be one. About nine o'clock in the evening, the moon shining bright, we set off with two peasants as guides, who when we had crossed the bridge close to our barn, they conducted us to a small boat which they tracked up the river about three miles, and then landing about a couple of hundred yards from the place to be reconnoitred, a consultation as to the watchword took place; here, we left one soldier and a guide; the rest of us creeping close to the ground until we could just see those we had left behind; we then left another soldier and the guide, while the English cadet and I crept on as before until we distinguished the outward centinel of the French post, who was walking about on the other side of the river, where it had been supposed a redoubt had been thrown up. Having ascertained there was none, we returned in the same order back, and quitting the boat and guides at some distance from the bridge, we halted, while the cadet walked on before to make a signal,

when immediately the whole guard under arms rose up from where they had been posted in ambush in case of accident; we then walked to the barn, where eating and drinking a little wine, I slept until next morning on my bed of straw.

The next day we amused ourselves by going with six dragoons toward another advanced post of the French, placed on the summit of a hill to which the high road rose gently about two miles from the base of the hill, bounded by corn fields on each side; it was very dry weather, and the corn almost ready for reaping. We set off, the lieutenant commanding, the cadet and I on horseback, with six dragoons, and, from the dust that rose as we moved forward, it was impossible our number could be ascertained from the advanced post of the French. Our fun was to make the whole of the guard at the advanced post of the French turn out, and, when within a short distance from them, to wheel about and scamper off as quickly as possible; this we did, but they sent us however a few musket balls, which whizzed over us without any effect. Sometimes we used to go out to look for spies, and the corn being high it served as a screen for the peasants to lurk in; they frequently used to do so, and to carry information back to the French.

Now and then some of those people were seen popping their heads above the standing corn, to observe what number of troops were upon the alert, and when this was perceived a sharp-shooter sent a ball towards the place where the corn seemed in motion, as it would have been useless and hazardous to have followed them, as we might have fallen into an ambuscade: indeed once a whole party of the French were discovered, and dislodged from their look out for us by a man's popping up his head in the standing corn rather too much, and we most likely should have been cut off had not a few rifle balls, well directed, obliged the whole party concealed to show themselves and scamper off altogether, on which we made good our retreat to the Austrian advanced post.

From this, after one week constant activity, I returned

to the abbey, rather unwillingly. Some few days after this the abbey again became the head quarters of the Duke; I as usual attended to every thing that was going on, and was a spectator at the trial of two deserters, which took place on the square in the town before the main guard, and upon sentence of death being pronounced on one of the men he was marched out of the town to suffer military execution. The culprit's eyes were bound with a handkerchief, his hands tied behind, and he then knelt down, when the priest, after he had confessed him in a very low voice, kept receding from him, and, at the same time, raising his voice as he increased his distance; during this, six men silently stepped out from the ranks, three of whom got ready to fire the moment the priest let fall a handkerchief; and the man was shot in the instant. To me this precaution of the priest seemed an act of infinite judgment and humanity. As Tournay was a frontier town, many of the clergy that fled from France sought refuge at the Abbey St. Martin, and the abbot entertained great numbers of them daily, not only at his own table at dinner, but likewise had another dinner prepared and served up immediately after his, so that I think upon an average he supplied daily between eighty and ninety in the abbey, besides relieving many others out of doors.

There were likewise many French families that had come from France to reside at Tournay, hoping as they were close on the frontiers, they should soon be able to return to their estates; amongst these was a Marquis Dumouriel, who, with his wife, her sister, and his mother, resided in the town. I became acquainted with them, and as they came away at the moment of their being denounced, they had exhausted all their money, as well as what could be converted into cash, so that they had nothing to live upon; they applied to me, but my resources were very scanty. I made, however, strong applications to my banker, but he remonstrated with me, and persuaded me by no means to advance any money, as he said it would be of no use. On making a visit to the Marquis one day after

SAILORS CAROUSING IN THE LONG ROOM AT PORTSMOUTH

(From W. Ward's engraving of the painting by J. C. Ibbetson, reproduced by permission of Commander C. N. Robinson, R.N.)

dinner, the sister had not come home from her morning ride; it was supposed she had, in consequence of the fine weather, lengthened it more than usual; the groom was with her; as the evening came on they became alarmed at her absence, her toilet was searched, and in one of the drawers a letter was found directed to her sister, wishing them all good bye, as she had determined on returning into France, requesting them to make no search as it would be useless. The agonies of the Marquis's wife soon brought on violent convulsions, and fits succeeded each other with such rapidity, that I thought they would terminate the existence of this great beauty, for she was one of the handsomest women I had ever beheld. I remained until late in the evening, assisting the husband and mother to hold her in bed; at last the violence of her exertions had so weakened her, that the husband and mother being equal to hold her, I wished them good night. Next morning I found her in bed, better, and more composed; in the evening she had her friends about her, and next day was as lively and gay as if nothing had happened.

From the number of troops which were hourly passing through Tournay, from before Lisle, some great event seemed fast approaching; all the intelligence I could collect was that the French armies, under General Dumouria, were assembling in great force towards Jammap.

The good monks had for some time been packing up the valuables of the abbey, and several large wagon loads were already gone forward into the interior. The abbot asked me one day if I knew any thing for certain of the movements likely to take place, "for," says he, "you are always with the Duke, and must have made some remarks;" to which I simply replied that I did not know any thing more than what he himself must know. The abbot seemed displeased at my answer, conceiving that I knew more than I chose to declare. I certainly felt very uneasy at the abbot's conclusion, but had I known any thing, it was not for me, living, as I may say, at that time with the family of the Duke, to have revealed any suppositions to which daily inter-

course might have given me an idea of. Soon after this the Duke took his departure, for which I was sorry, when one of the Princes of Wirtemburg was left in command; I had often met him in London at the Austrian ambassador's. Head quarters was still at the abbey; and in a day or two after this, perceiving that the French premeditated an attack some where, I made application to the Prince of Wirtemburg for a passport to return to England. The abbot wished me very much to remain, and told me that the English had nothing to fear from the French should they enter Tournay; but I very prudently declined his kindness, so taking an affectionate leave of these good friars, I went by diligence to Courtray, where a number of English troops had arrived; from thence to Ostend, and by a packet to Dover, where I took coach to London, and by the newspapers I found that the French had entered Tournay the day after I left it.

FIFTH VOYAGE

AT the time I arrived in England, a fleet was fitting out at Spithead, so I immediately waited upon my father's friend, who was still one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and solicited employment. He offered at once to send me to the *Victory*, his ship, which was that of the Commander-in-Chief; observing, however, that if I chose to remain with my friends a short time, having just returned from the continent, I could, there being no immediate necessity for my going on board, but when I was ready to go I had only to come to him, and he would give directions for my being received. I therefore remained in town with my friends for nearly a fortnight, and then waited upon him at the Admiralty. He then told me that his ship was full of young gentlemen, and that it was now out of his power to receive me on board, but that he would send me on board his brother-in-law's ship, Capt. Linsee. In reply to this I thanked him, and said I was sorry I had not availed myself of his Lordship's offer in the first instance as I ought and certainly should have done, had it not been for his kind assurance that upon reapplication to him I was to have been received on board his ship. He, however, left me, saying "I will send you into my brother-in-law's ship if you choose."

Upon communicating this to my father, he seemed much disappointed, but at his desire I went to another friend of his, General Bude. He had formerly been governor to H. R. Highness the Duke of York, but then was with the King, George the Third. Upon hearing my case, he said "I will see Lord Howe; come along with me." We went to his Lordship's house, but he was not at home, upon which he told me to come to him next day; I did so, and he told me that Lord Howe would write to a Captain of his acquaintance, the

Honourable Capt. Waldegrave[1] to receive me on board a 74, the *Courageux*, fitting at Portsmouth; and that the sooner I joined the ship the better. Upon going on board, the first person I met was the lieutenant whose violent behaviour to me had been the reason of my quitting the frigate *Pearl* at Lisbon; he was here third lieutenant, and to appearances very glad to see me; while I, sailor like, forgot his past ill usage, and felt under no apprehensions for the future, upon account of former differences. The same evening I waited upon my Captain, and next day took up my quarters on board the *Courageux*.

In somewhat less than a week, I was informed the Captain (Waldegrave) wished to see me. I went on shore to his lodgings, and, being ushered into his room, he told me that I must leave his ship; I felt struck, and upon begging him to inform me in what I had been remiss, so as to merit his displeasure, he said that he had no fault to find in me, but that he had heard reports which prevented him from permitting me to remain in his ship; to this I observed, that "conscious my conduct would bear the utmost scrutiny, I hoped he would inform me from whom he had heard reports so prejudicial towards me: I assured him that I would take no further notice of it than merely to convince him how unfounded such reports were." He said his mind was made up, and his determination taken. So finding this to be the case, I observed, "that as he was pleased to say that my conduct had not merited his disapprobation, I hoped he would not object to give me the usual certificate:" he answered "certainly not;" and requested that I would make it out, and he would sign it. Accordingly I went to him next day with the usual certificate, and after reading it to the Captain he signed it.

Upon folding it up and putting it into my pocket, I wished him good morning, and observed, "I was very sorry he would not allow me to justify myself, after having listened to reports which had caused him to deal

[1] The Hon. Wm. Waldegrave; rear-admiral, 1795; Baron Radstock, 1800; admiral, 1802.

with such severity towards me, and I trusted that he would not reveal my observations." After this I waited upon my former Captain, John Knight, who was Captain of the Commander-in-Chief's ship, the *Victory*, and stating confidentially to him the circumstances of my case, he appeared quite indignant at such harsh treatment, and the next day he waited on the Captain (Waldegrave) of the ship I had just left. What passed between them I know not, but he said he would receive me on board his ship as had been intended in the first instance by my father's friend, Lord Hood. I went on board, but strange to say, that even here my ill-fated star had destined me to experience difficulties still more sharp, for I found on going on board that those of my own class, the midshipmen, hesitated to admit me into a mess. Now it was that I felt the keenness of ingratitude, for it was to uphold the class I belonged to I had subjected myself to so much inconvenience and had left the service formerly. I, therefore, instantly appealed to the first lieutenant of the ship, who instead of enforcing my reception into a mess, referred me to the Captain. I went on shore, and upon stating to him my reception, he observed that this seemed to be a link of the same secret enemy, and desired me not to take the least notice or even to drop a hint as to the name of any person I suspected.

The next day in the morning he took me on board with him, and immediately he got upon the quarter-deck, he desired that all the officers and midshipmen should be sent for. When they were assembled he put this plain question to them : Whether or no any of them knew any thing in my conduct inconsistent with the character of a gentleman ? A dead silence ensued. He then put the same question individually, when one of the master's mates said that he had heard that I owed money at one of the inns on shore, and that the innkeeper had turned me out of the house, which he thought was a disgrace to the ship. The Captain, turning to me, asked if this was the case ; to which I answered, that as to turning me out of the inn, I always found the innkeeper very glad when I came there.

It was then asked if this was the sum of accusation against me, but no one preferring any thing else, the Captain, turning to the first lieutenant, desired him to mess me in the larboard berth, observing that he would not admit frivolous reports to go abroad to the disadvantage of any one in the ship he commanded. All were then dismissed.

Notwithstanding this observation of the Captain's in so public a way, and the apparent failure of the attack made upon me, yet so strong had been the impressions made against me, that other means, less open, were resorted to, hoping thereby to create in me a disgust, and that I might thereby be induced to solicit my discharge from the ship altogether. One of these was as follows :—The servants of the mess were not ordered to call me at meal times when they did the other members. This, however, I soon put a stop to, for the next day after this had happened, when I knew that all the members would be seated at dinner, I went down into the berth, and finding no one even moved to make a place for me at table, I fixed upon one of the members by name, and requested him to make a little room for me ; this he did, and as soon as I was seated, directing my discourse to the servants, I asked them why they did not call me at the same time they called the other gentlemen. The servants not answering, and the members being silent, I addressed myself to the whole, observing that I was a member of the mess, and expected in future to be informed at meal times as well as others, and that to me it was indifferent where I sat at table, but that one place I expected in future. To this no remark was made, so after eating my dinner I went upon deck. The servants took care to inform me in future, and I always afterwards found a place at the mess table when I came there.

In this way things went on for some time, no one speaking to me, and I in no way courting any one so to do, except upon duty ; at last, however, those who were utter strangers to me, began to perceive that the authors of those ill reports having failed to substantiate

any thing against me, began to regard me with somewhat more candour; and as I had encouraged inquiries as far as I could, and given myself the trouble to procure a written document from the master of the inn where it had been said I had been turned out, declaring that no such occurrence as turning me out had ever entered his head, and that instead of not paying my bill I left no accounts unpaid, the combination began from this and other circumstances to dissolve; but no one amongst my brother midshipmen ever hinted with whom the plot originated, or was kept up, although I pretty well knew, and great care was taken by the parties that I should not have it in my power to fix upon any one with certainty. This was one of those oblique attacks which are now and then hurled at individuals by those whom credulity leads astray, and who do not give themselves the trouble to investigate what they may have heard, which to the inexperienced and thoughtless create distrust of any person glanced at: such reports spreading, the source from whence they originated becomes obscured, and the individual, unless very active and determined, finds himself wounded and bleeding without even the shadow of an assassin being visible.

Being fond of boat duty, I was always well dressed by eight o'clock in the morning in uniform and ready, while others, whose turn it was to go in boats, were not so, and I frequently voluntarily presented myself and took their turn. This disinterested conduct soon brought me under the notice of the lieutenants, and as I was found to be so good a boatman, and often came off to Spithead, when blowing very hard, and got safe on board when no other boat of the fleet would even leave the shore, I was looked up to. It was still however evident to me that a knot existed somewhere, and that ill nature and credulity were only quiet for the want of opportunity to break out, as many kept themselves aloof, expecting perhaps that a person so persecuted would bend, and seek countenance from those around him, but in this they were most egregiously mistaken.

One of those accidental occurrences, however, took place which change the opinions suddenly of all. It was this :—The fleet was ready for sea, and orders had been given to prepare for the reception of the Commander-in-Chief : the day was fixed for his coming on board, and all officers were expected to be in full dress to receive him : he came alongside and upon deck, the band playing " See, the conquering hero comes ! " As he passed on the quarter deck into the cabin, it so happened that I was the only midshipman or person he took any notice of. When he had entered his cabin, all the midshipmen flocked round me, eager in their inquiries if I was personally known to the Commander-in-Chief; I replied that I had been known to him from a child, and that he was an intimate acquaintance of my father's. Then it was that the clouds of forbiddance, which hitherto had more or less hung on the brow of whoever I addressed, visibly subsided ; however, afterwards, as I was the only midshipman of the ship the Admiral asked to dine with him at his house on shore, I very soon again became in their minds an object of distrust. In each of these two cases the manners and actions of those who so viewed me were certainly revolting, and I began to see deeper into the heart of man.

The fleet sailed from Spithead with a few merchant vessels in company, and in a few days passed Cape Saint Vincent, so close that with the naked eye we could see the good fat friars sitting outside their convent that was upon the hill, enjoying the agreeable freshness of the North-West wind, which soon wafted us by them, and to Gibraltar, where the fleet anchored and remained a few days, when it proceeded off Toulon, and kept cruising some time. A cartel was to be sent into Toulon, and a French merchant vessel, that had been captured, was put in requisition for this purpose ; a Lieutenant Cook, another midshipman and myself, with a dozen men, went on board of her ; the English ensign was hoisted, and a white flag at the fore-top gallant masthead, to denote our peaceable intentions ; but as we came under the high land that forms the

western part of the entrance into the deep bay of Toulon roads, a shot was fired at us to bring us to, which we did, and shortly after a couple of gun boats, with one gun each in the prow, carrying a large latteen sail, came and took possession of us, and working the vessel into the outer roadsted, they anchored her close under the guns of *Fort la Malgue*. Here we remained four days, when a packet of papers, directed to the Admirals was brought to the lieutenant, upon which the gun boat, that had guarded over us, one ahead and the other astern, took the men they put on board us away, and we had permission to return to the fleet.

Whilst the fleet was cruising off this port, a circumstance happened that has often made me reflect upon the impropriety of admitting any one whatever, having an impediment in their speech, into those professions where a distinct articulation is absolutely necessary. A man may be a very good seaman and possess nautical skill, yet if he wants distinct articulation, he is in fact unfit by nature to command. Eloquence in his profession is necessary, that is nautical eloquence, such as the men he has to command may fully understand and comprehend; for however active he may be in mind and body, a want of a clear articulation renders him totally unfit for a sea officer, or any other profession where a distinct and clear articulation is required, as the following fact will shew. The fleet had been laying to, the whole day, the fog being so dense that the jib boom of the ship astern had frequently been seen over our taffrail before we knew the ship was so close to us, in consequence of which the Captain of the fleet, Sir Hyde Parker, ordered the signal to be got ready for the fleet to wear at sunset; or, if necessary, upon any favorable moment that should occur for its being made.

Sometime before sunset, it was decided (the fog being so dense) the signal should not be made. About an hour after this decision of not making the signal, being midshipman of the watch upon the quarter-deck, I asked the signal lieutenant if the signal was to be made, in order that I might tell the gunner it was not to be

made. The lieutenant, to my great surprise, stammered out "Ye—ye—yes!" Thinking he had made a mistake, I asked him a second time, when he again, and rather warmly, answered "Tut—tut—tut—yes!" Upon which I went to the break of the quarter-deck, and ordered the gunner to fire. Bang went the guns one after the other, out came the Captain of the fleet to know why the signal had been made, and the signal lieutenant, to whom he addressed himself, could only answer "Tut—tut—tut." The Captain then looked at me for an answer, and I told him how it was, when the Captain gave orders that the signal should be annulled directly. Now had this error been committed under circumstances less favourable, it might have been of serious consequence to the whole fleet, and all owing to the cruelty, I may say, of placing such a person so unqualified by nature in such a situation. Would this were the only profession wherein bad articulation makes the speaker cut a ridiculous figure, as well as those who so incautiously had placed him there.

One very fine day when walking upon the quarter-deck, the whole of the ship's company on a sudden came rushing in crowds up all the different ladders from below, crying out, fire! fire! all was confusion; nor could the Captain or any of the officers gain intelligence of the evil. I went to the Captain who was walking the quarter-deck, and asked him if I should beat to quarters? he said "yes;" but finding I could not get down the quarter-deck ladder for the men that were rushing up, I jumped right into the midst of them upon their heads, and my own weight brought me down to the half-deck. I seized the drum hanging up there, and, bracing it up, beat to quarters, upon which every one seemed to regain his senses, and went immediately to their quarters; I then, without orders, sung out for the firemen, and went to my quarters upon the quarter-deck, being aid-de-camp to the Captain. The fire had taken place in the starboard wings,[1] from the carelessness of one of the carpenters paying a seam

[1] The "wings" were passages next to the ship's side on the orlop or lowest deck.

with hot pitch; it was immediately quenched, and the Captain, after the retreat was beat, not only thanked me for what I had done, but complimented me upon my presence of mind.

It was upon this occasion that I saw many a brave fellow run up the rigging and out upon the driver boom [1] during their first panic, and had it not been for the act of an earth worm, as I was at that time, I may safely say the result most likely in a few moments would have been of serious consequence. One evening, a little before the watch was set, we heard heavy guns to windward, upon which the fleet was got into line-of-battle, upon the supposition that the French fleet had left Toulon, as the wind was north-west. Intelligence was, however, soon brought to the Admiral, by the look-out frigates, that it was the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Langara,[2] and in the course of the next day some of the Spanish frigates passed us as we were making in closer for the land.

Some few days after, two or three French persons, delegated to the Admiral from Toulon, came on board the *Victory*, and the fleet stood close into Toulon, when a division of seamen and marines of the fleet were sent on shore to take possession of *Fort la Malgue*, and upon their having possession given them they were to hoist a white flag; during their taking possession, our fleet, joined by that of Spain, worked under a light top-gallant breeze into Toulon roads, and although the entrance was so crowded with the two fleets working indiscriminately one amongst the other, and the ships were so close when tacking that they could be touched by the hand, yet no other accident occurred than one of our line-of-battle ships having a main-top gallant yard carried away by the jib boom of one of the Spanish ships when paying off after tacking. The whole sight was beautiful, and murmurs of praise continually greeted the ears from each ship of the united fleets when passing close to each other during their

[1] The driver boom projected a considerable way over the stern.

[2] Don Juan de Langara.

skilful and seaman-like management, for the Spaniards shewed themselves excellent seamen that day; by one in the afternoon the fleets were anchored.

When a party of seamen or marines is required for shore duty, not before calculated upon, it is frequently left for volunteers to make up the number; upon this occasion a man who had been a long while upon the sick list, was observed in the ranks of those who had volunteered their services; he was told that he was upon the sick list. "Yes," says he, "I am; but I can handle a sword or pistol as well as any one, although I cannot go aloft, and therefore I come as a volunteer." His ready reply was admitted, and he went with others to strengthen the party in *Fort la Malgue*. About four o'clock the same afternoon I was sent for upon the quarter-deck by the Captain, and he gave me a letter to take on board the Spanish Admiral's ship, that had anchored far within our's, and the Captain, for the sake of dispatch, ordered his barge to take me, and as I left the ship, springs were getting on our cables, apparently to bring one broadside upon the Spanish Admiral's ship, and my orders were to give the letter on the quarter-deck of the Spanish Admiral's ship to some officer of rank, and wait only such a time for an answer; away I went in the barge, and on board the Spanish Admiral's ship, and on the quarter deck gave the letter as I was desired. Her quarter deck was full of officers, and as I gave the letter, I took out my watch, and when it was within five minutes of the time, I beckoned my boat to come alongside; upon so doing, I was requested to wait a little longer by a Spanish officer; I did so, and after waiting some time longer, I requested one of the officers would go and say that I could not possibly remain longer than five minutes more for an answer; upon this expiring I went to the gangway and beckoned my boat, that I had desired to keep off on her oars; she came alongside and I had got half way down the ship's side, when a letter was brought me. I took it, and when I returned on board I found that preparations had been made for a kick up; which I suppose was put an end to by the

letter I brought, and very soon after the Spanish Admiral's ship moved her berth.

What could have given rise to this difference, I know not; but it was so managed a few days afterwards, that the two Commanders-in-Chief of the separate fleets met in their boats, followed by the Captains of their fleets as if by accident, and they exchanged compliments of civility. Notwithstanding all these outward appearances of cordiality of the chiefs, yet there was always a positive want of unanimity in the joint co-operations of the confederates, as they seldom acted with advantage for the combined good; indeed it frequently happened, that the out and advanced posts, the Spaniards occupied, were drove in by the French, and our troops had as regularly to repossess themselves of them. This was much to the disadvantage of the combined forces, not that I in the least attribute to this gallant nation a want of either individual or combined courage, on the contrary, I only observe that cordiality did not predominate, and when that is the case nothing can go on so well for the general cause they embrace; a Commander-in-Chief should be a person whose knowledge of mankind, and of the world, will enable him to conquer by courtesy, as well as cannon: if he is not *au fait* in this, he is *bona fide*[1] unfitted as a Commander-in-Chief. It is always better to correct errors good humouredly than to throw in a forcing decider, unless absolutely necessary.

When the combined fleets entered Toulon, the French Admiral in command there, (St. Julian,) made his escape, as the opposite party the Royalists, had offered a reward for his apprehension. Hundreds of men, with their officers, of the Republican fleet, that did not choose to embrace the Royal cause, had either two or three French line-of-battle ships assigned them to take them either to a port in Spain or France; and the day before they sailed the Admiral, St. Julian[2] for whose appre-

[1] He means *ipso facto*; but he has confessed (p. 5, l. 5) that he could never learn Latin.

[2] Rear-Admiral St. Julien was second in command: the C -in-C. was the Royalist, Cte. de Trogoff.

hension a reward had been offered, came on board the *Victory* in a shore boat, with one man only rowing him. He had nothing on but a shirt and a pair of trousers to cover him. When he surrendered himself up to the English fleet, he was received on board the Admiral's ship, and something given him to eat in the Captain's cabin, which he seemed to devour, having lived in the fields upon what he could pick up. A French officer was sent for from one of the ships that had embraced the Royal cause, and when he came on board I was ordered to attend to their conversation and make my report. I did not leave them, and when the French officer left the Rear-Admiral, he was sent on board one of the French ships of war, which was to sail next day.

It was nearly a week after our arrival, being upon the quarter-deck with several other of the midshipmen, that I thoughtlessly observed it seemed strange to me no preparations had been made for evacuating the place, not that it was now apparent it would be necessary, but that in case it should so turn out, as neither the forts nor whatever else was in our possession had been mined, or got ready for blowing up, in case of emergency, for as it was our fleet was protected by them, but by a reverse they would be turned to our annoyance. Little did I think at that time that the accidental remarks of a young gentleman in his profession would find their way to the Commander-in-Chief's ears, but they did however, and my promotion was retarded, for several other midshipmen of the ship, as well as of other private ships, were advanced before me to the rank of lieutenant.

At last the Admiral promoted me,[1] and in presenting me with my commission, gave me this salutary advice—"Be more guarded in your remarks in future, however well founded." It came afterwards to my knowledge, that (had it not been for the Captain of the fleet, as well as the Captain of the ship, having strongly recom-

[1] His lieutenant's commission was dated 31 August, 1793, a few days after the fleet reached Toulon; but it may have been ante-dated.

mended me) very probably my promotion would have been retarded some time longer, in consequence of the thoughtless remarks, free from all intention of offence, which I made upon the quarter-deck, having been so ill-naturedly reported to the Admiral. To both of these officers I shall ever feel grateful, for their influence and uninterested conduct on my account. To the zeal which I upon all occasions shewed when in the line of my duty do I attribute their notice in my favour. A Commander-in-Chief seldom has occasion to be upon the quarter-deck, and consequently cannot be *au fait* to all the merits and demerits of the individuals who compose the quarter-deck; and as to reports, they are seldom so correct but they become bent in some way or other for or against an individual, and that perhaps unintentionally by the person who carries such reports.

Upon my promotion I was attached as one of the aid-de-camps to the Governor of *Fort la Malgue*, the Hon. Capt. Elphinstone, and it being a place of strength, commanding the harbour and shipping in the roadsted, it had been given to this Captain of one of our line-of-battle ships to command. The number of aid-de-camps was three; we lived and messed together, and now and then used to dine at the Governor's table. During my stay on shore in this capacity, I used as often as I could go on board one of the floating batteries that was commanded by a friend of mine, Lieut. Morion-court, purposely to have a shot at the French batteries. These floating batteries were placed round the bay pretty close in shore, to protect the approaches to the town, as well as to keep the forts and redoubts the French held in check. My friend was always glad to see me, and never objected to my having two or three shots, and as I was a very good marksman I generally sent the second ball into an embrazure of the French redoubt; this the French returned at the instant.

At last my visits to the floating battery being rather frequent, the French used to watch my going away, and when the boat left the floating battery, as soon as it was clear of it, I was generally honoured with a couple of shots, pretty well directed, although, as

luck would have it, they did no more than make the water splash over us a little, and give a spur to the oar. Being the only aid-de-camp to the Governor who could speak French at all fluently, it became to me rather a disadvantage than otherwise, for one night a spy that had brought some intelligence to the Governor, (who spoke little else than a kind of English-French) in consequence of which his aid-de-camps were ordered to attend. I came in last, and heard the spy telling his story, which neither his Excellency nor any understood, for they mistook it quite the other way, upon which I suggested that they had made an error. The spy finding that I was putting the right construction upon his narrative, directed his discourse to me; this put his Excellency in a rage, and he ordered me in a gross way to keep silence. I did so, but it was all to no purpose, for he could not understand the spy nor the spy him. The Governor, therefore, sent for the old French Governor of the fort (who still resided in the castle) out of his warm bed, to interpret for his Excellency, not choosing an aid-de-camp should be supposed to speak or understand the French language better than himself; and as the old Governor went his way out of the room, he said to me, loud enough for his Excellency to hear, "*mais vous comprenez suffisament.*" I assented to this remark, but no more.

Soon after this I was appointed second lieutenant to one of the smallest sloops of war in the British navy, lying at anchor on the south-west shore of Toulon outer road. On the night of my first appointment, a heavy squall of wind and hail, not uncommon there, made the sloop drive; all hands were turned out to veer away cable, but the men were obliged to quit the deck from the immense size of the hailstones which fell, and as the hailstones fell before the squall came on, as I lay awake in my cabin, I took their clatter on deck for grape shot, which I thought the French were firing upon us from the heights, and the thunder for the roar of cannon; indeed the whole ship's company below did the same; but when we got on deck we found our mistake. One of the hailstones fell

upon the thumb of my left hand, which did not recover the blow for a month after. Before and since that time I never saw such large hailstones.

My first cruise as lieutenant was with a squadron of men-of-war detached from the fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral John Gell, to look after some French frigates at Genoa, that had been annoying our trade very much in that quarter. It was a very fine morning as we warped into the mole of Genoa,[1] where we found two large French frigates and National privateers; the whole of our squadron anchored about half-past eleven. The first lieutenant and myself were each of us ordered to take a boat manned and armed, with their crews, and attack the privateers, take them, and bring them alongside. We left the ship and rowed as fast as we could towards the privateers, who, as we got within musket shot, kept firing at us; my men wanted sadly to return their fire, but I kept them at the oars. During this time our Admiral's ship was discharging musketry from her tops into the French frigates, which was returned until the Frenchmen jumped into the water. We had now got very near the French privateers; the first lieutenant kept on to the furthermost one, and upon getting alongside the one left for me, I found the men of the privateer had placed their boat just in the gangway; we lay our boat alongside of her, and giving them our fire, boarded the privateer over their boat.

The first man that got up the side was an Irishman; I followed as far as the main chains, and laying hold of the foremost shroud with my left hand, backed him up with my right knee, lest he should be shoved overboard from off the gangway. The Frenchmen had so crowded the gangway as to prevent our boarding them altogether, so that only one man could act against us, and the Irishman only against them; the Irishman soon made his way on deck; I followed, and when I got on the gangway a marine fired his musket at me; he missed me; he then charged me with his fixed bayonet, which I parried with my small sword, and as his bayonet

[1] This took place on 5th October, 1793.

passed my body I rose the point of my sword, and the marine, from the force he had charged with, ran right upon it, the sword passing through his body up to the hilt; he staggered and fell, musket and all, over the gangway into the water, and the man left in the boat stuck the boat-hook into him, and shoved him under the boat's bottom. The Frenchmen now fled every way, some jumping overboard on the other side of the vessel, and some down the hatchway, but the Captain kept fighting with the Irishman, and wounded him; I went to his assistance, and tripped up the heels of the Captain just as the Irishman discharged his pistol at his head; the ball missed him; the powder he received in his cheek, which in an instant became as big as a pumkin. I then disarmed the Captain, and told him to go below and keep quiet. My next care was to make the men cease shooting those who had jumped into the water, and to guard the hatchways.

The vessel was soon ours, and I had the Frenchmen on deck one by one, and then into their own boat until full; they were then towed on board by our boat, and when the boat returned I sent the rest of them into her on board our brig the *Speedy*, and took the privateer and anchored her close under her guns. But how great was my astonishment to find that the privateer carried 6 six-pounders, and 2 twelve, all long guns, with 56 men; 43 we made prisoners, but on boarding we killed 13: we killed some on deck, others in the water. None of my men were hurt, though one of them had a musket ball through his jacket. Several balls struck our boat while rowing up—some fell near the brig. When I made my report aboard the Admiral, the Admiral's Captain complimented me upon my zeal. After this affair a signal was made that no person was to go on shore that day; the next forenoon I went on shore, and about two o'clock ordered dinner at a coffee-house close to the main guard; I had scarcely sat down before the drums of the city were beating to arms, and a Genoa officer entered the coffee-room to request I would go with him, a ship being on fire in the mole, and they were fearful

the flames might extend to others. I accompanied him to the landing place, and saw the vessel on fire in the mole drifting towards the body of shipping; she was surrounded by boats full of troops, that did nothing but jabber. "What can be done?" said the officer. "Have you any carpenter at hand?" said I; "if so, let him go and scuttle the ship; she will soon sink."

At this moment we were surrounded by the guard, who were waiting the officer's orders to bring a cannon to sink the vessel; this I objected to as useless: a Frenchman just at that moment came running up to the officer, bawling out that the English had set fire to the vessel, and were going to set others on fire, intending to burn the whole city, and that I was the officer conducting this diabolical work! In an instant the bayonets of the guard were levelled at me, upon which I collared the Frenchman, tripped up his heels, and laying hold of my sword made as if I would draw it to stab him, observing to the officer that it was all a story, trumped up by the agents of Robespiere, to set the Genoese and English at variance. The officer saw through the whole, and requested me to go along with him; I did so, and we left the scene of confusion, but sure enough as we went away a fire broke out on board another vessel in a different part of the mole; at this instant, as luck would have it for me, a signal was made on board the Admiral's ship with a gun, which I told the officer was for the boats of the squadron to assist; the officer seemed very glad, and conducting me out of the mob, observed that as the state of the parties ran high, it would not be safe for me to remain on shore; upon which I immediately walked as fast as I could round the ramparts of the harbour, and getting to the lighthouse on the opposite side, descended the hill to the landing place, hailed my ship for a boat and went on board.

By this time the boats of the squadron were towing the ship on fire clear of the other shipping in the mole; I immediately took one of the ship's boats, and rowing that way, observed that our boats had grappled the ship on fire and were towing her to a projecting shoal

in the middle of the harbour, under the walls of the town on the north side, while boats filled with troops were keeping off boats filled by the mob, and that all were joining in cheering heartily, according to the custom of Italy, (clapping hands in applause) our adventurous sons of the waves to exert themselves. The ship on fire was grounded on the shoal before mentioned, where she was left to burn. The boat of the Genoese commandant was at this moment close by to the vessel that was on fire ; I rowed up to her, and entering into conversation in French with this officer, asked him if he had heard of the *fracas* that had occurred on the landing place ? He said " yes, and that it had been represented to the Doge, who regretted the name of the English officer was not known, he having admired his presence of mind upon the spur of the moment, and should be very glad if I could tell him." To this civility I observed, that the officer on guard had shown a forbearance worthy of the trust reposed in him, and it was to be hoped that the Doge would bear him in mind hereafter, as it was perceivable from his conduct that the machinations of the French were very well understood at Genoa. I then wished the Commandant a good night, and both our boats quitted the ship on fire, which was now safe from doing any harm. I returned on board, and a little before ten at night, the vessel having burnt down to the water's edge, the water broke in upon her timbers and quenched the fire.

Our ship was in a day or two after dispatched with a 74, named the *Captain*, to the Gulf of Specia, to secure a French frigate that had taken shelter there. Before the ships anchored, I was sent to the Governor of the fort with a letter ; upon my coming to the water gate, I was received by the Governor of the fort and a number of officers with him, some of whom had the appearance of sea officers. I gave him the letter from the boat, which was received with a pair of tongs, and then returned on board. Our ships had anchored close under the fort, and we found that the French frigate had her sails unbent and taken on shore, and

she was sunk in shoal water, with her gun decks under water, close in shore, in one of the fine coves with which this gulf abounds, and her crew had left her. During the night, however, our people were sent to try to get her up; this was done, and before day-light in the morning all the stores belonging to her, which had been landed for security, were got on board her and she anchored outside our ships quite ready for sea. The commander of the ship I belonged to took the command of her, and I was taken with him as first lieutenant, and the first lieutenant of the sloop-of-war that I belonged to left in command of her; a midshipman, named Thomas Staines, afterwards *Sir* Thomas Staines, from the 74, was likewise sent into the French frigate, and that same day we all made sail for Toulon.

Upon our arrival at Toulon, my Captain was confirmed Post into the frigate; her name was the *L'Imperieuse*,[1] of 44 guns; she sailed remarkably well, beating the 74 whose name was the *Captain*, which ship was considered a fast sailing line-of-battle ship, but the French frigate could spare her the main sail and top-gallant sails. The first lieutenant of the sloop-of-war was made first lieutenant into the frigate, and I was left first lieutenant of the sloop-of-war; another lieutenant from the flag ship was appointed to the sloop, and a lieutenant Cockburn[2] was made commander into her from the flag ship, so that the whole of the officers were changed except myself. The sloop went into the inner roads of Toulon to refit, and I took every opportunity, when the duty of the ship would allow, to go on shore, as I was desirous of seeing how things were going on there, for the French were active and assembling in force in the environs of Toulon; from such observations as I could make it appeared to me that Toulon would not long remain in our possession.

[1] Taken 11th October, 1793: a 38-gun frigate, renamed *Unité* in the R.N.

[2] It is curious that Raigersfeld should write of him thus; for when he was writing his book, Cockburn, then Admiral Sir George, was First Sea Lord.

A few days after this all the troops that could be mustered marched out of the town, under the command of General O'Hara, (who some little time past came from Gibraltar, with all the troops that could be spared from that garrison, of which he was Lieutenant-Governor and in command) to repel the French under Carto [1] and Buonaparte, and retake some of the outposts from which the French had forced the Spaniards. In this recounter General O'Hara was taken prisoner, and as things went on from bad to worse, daily preparation was made to quit the place. One morning at day-light a signal was made for a lieutenant from our sloop, which I answered, and my orders were to go to a particular house in Toulon, where I should find an old man ready to attend me, whom I was to conduct on board the flag ship; I did so and found the elderly gentleman with a daughter, living *á troisième* in one room. Upon my coming they immediately hurried on their clothes, and taking a few things in a pocket handkerchief, we all left the house together. I conducted them down to my boat through crowds of people assembled at the landing place, all eager to get into any boat they could, some from their hurry pushing others into the water; all was confusion.

Luckily I had directed the coxswain not to come near the landing place, but keep off a couple of boats' length until I came back. With some difficulty I got them into the boat, as well as prevented others following, and when clear off the expressions of thankfulness of the old man and daughter were most sincere. I took them to the flag ship, and they were glad to get there. Who they were I know not, neither did I inquire. Our sloop being now refitted, she was ordered to cruise off Genoa, and blockade that port, to prevent ships or vessels loaded with grain from entering it; we did so, and sent seventy-five large vessels into Leghorn, all of which we supposed would be condemned as good prizes. During our cruising here we frequently heard, by ships which we stopped and brought to, that the English fleet had evacuated Toulon, and that they were

[1] I.e. Carteau. O'Hara was taken prisoner on 30th November.

at Anchor in Herries [Hyères] Bay, so when our provisions and water ran short we returned to the fleet, which we found sure enough had quitted Toulon, and were anchored in Herries Bay. On our arrival there, our Captain was promoted into a frigate, named the *Inconstant*, whose Captain wished to return to England. I was sorry to lose my Captain, who offered to get me appointed to his frigate as second lieutenant, if I chose to go with him. I would gladly have done so to have been first lieutenant, but not in the subordinate situation of second, so I remained where I was, and another lieutenant was made commander into our sloop; his name was Eyre. We were ordered to sea immediately, and the former Captain of the *Inconstant* frigate (named Montgomery, who was going to England) came on board for a passage to Leghorn, as likewise a King's messenger, named Shaw. We sailed with a fair wind, but the second night it blew so hard a gale that we were obliged to lay to, fearing to run, as by our dead reckoning we were near the island of Gorgona.

At this time the Captains and officers on board, except myself, were so sick and ill that they kept their beds, whilst I and the boatswain, named Hobbs, who had been at watch and watch for some time, were still kept at it, no others being fit for duty, so that I had day duties as well as all other duties to attend to, but this I considered nothing, and as the sea ran high, the lurches our ship made obliged every one to hold on, which was my delight, and I was quite in my element when contending with wind and weather, as well as seeing the awkward ones falling plump every now and then upon the deck, *upon which occasion those who are standing generally call out Butcher*. I shall never forget when it was necessary that the sloop should be wore, so that she might not forge too much towards the island of Gorgona, what anxiety was painted in the faces of every one in the cabin when I went below to tell them of it. We were laying to under a close-reefed trysail, and a heavy sea running, dark as pitch, so that it required not a little knowledge of seamanship

to ensure perfect safety to a deep-waisted vessel like our sloop in the act of wearing.

On the following morning, at day break, we found that the sloop had but just cleared the north end of the island, and that my calculation for drift had been perfectly correct, and had we not wore when we did, all must have been lost, as we should have seen nothing of the island, nor heard the surf, until it would have been too late, from our being to windward of the island and it blowing so hard. Finding ourselves clear, we bore up, and in a short time anchored in Leghorn road, and then put Capt. Montgomery, late of the *Inconstant* frigate, on shore. From thence we sailed to the island of Elbe; here a remarkable occurrence took place relative to the compass in the ship's binnacle, the north point varying above four points from its proper position each time the ship tacked as she stood in from side to side when working into the roadsted to anchor, but after she had come to an anchor it resumed nearly its proper position. It was supposed this unsteadiness of the compass was caused by the metalic productions with which this island abounds.

In twenty-four hours we left the island and returned to Leghorn, where Sir Gilbert Elliott came on board with his two sons, as well as Sir James Stewart, the former as Viceroy to the island of Corsica, and the latter to take the command of the troops. A remarkable instance of deception occurred on this passage; it was nearly calm and very foggy to leeward only, presently we heard continual discharges of supposed musketry close under our lee, we thought it to be an action, and the guns were cleared and ready to join should it come in our way, for being charged with dispatches we could not with propriety deviate from our course; after some time we discovered the noise of supposed musketry arose from the proximity of heavy clouds, highly charged with electrical fluid; these were engaging each other in fine style, keeping up a running fire from each other with as much tact as disciplined troops, and although we were all professors, yet we were deceived in the first instance, and should

have remained so if we had not seen the clouds firing away.

On joining the fleet at Corsica, we found the line-of-battle ships anchored in a line, out of the reach of the batteries on shore, hoping thereby to prevent supplies being thrown into the town of Bastia, but which they could not do in dark nights, not having any small craft to cruise between the line-of-battle ships and the shore. Here a person was sent on board to be taken to Leghorn, he being in opposition to General Paoli, who had been for some time the leading man in Corsica, and I think his name was Pozzô del Borgo. We took him there, and went to Gibraltar, where we stayed a couple of days and then returned to Corsica, just in time to be present at the surrender of Bastia, the capital of the island, which had held out as long as it was possible ; one of our frigates during this seige, that had been sent in shore to play upon the town of Bastia, was in a few hours set on fire by red hot shot from the batteries of Bastia ; the boats from the line-of-battle ships went to her assistance, and got to her as she sunk, but saved the men, and returned with them to the fleet, leaving the frigate under water half way up the lower mast, with her ensign flying at the mizen peak.

The French band belonging to the garrison was sent on board the flag ship, and the men belonging to it eat with avidity the ship biscuits which were given to them, and daily, with all mirth and good humour, played *Caira* [*Çaira*] amongst other tunes during the time the Admiral was at dinner, which was very *apropos* to their situation. We were now ordered to our old cruising ground off Genoa, which city had been straitened for wheat during our blockading it, and as the sloop stood in towards the shore a shot was fired to keep her off, and as she stood nearer in shore another shot was sent from the lighthouse, right between our masts, upon which we hove to. I was then ordered to go with a letter to the British Consul, which the Captain had orders from the Commander-in-Chief to deliver ; as the boat rowed toward the mole, two guard boats came out to conduct us in, and on entering others joined

them; we went into the middle of the mole, where we were soon surrounded by a vast number of boats filled with the idle and curious, and the guard boats had enough to do, rowing continually around us, to keep off the pressure of these other boats. In about half an hour the English Consul came, and I delivered to him the letter, upon which he requested me to remain where I was until his return. During his absence every now and then the murmuring hisses of disapprobation buzzed from the collected crowds in the surrounding boats, to which apparently I paid no attention.

After waiting a couple of hours I was relieved from this buz by the Consul bringing me a letter. I then left the mole under the general hiss of all present, both in the boats and upon the pier heads as we passed, and when clear of the harbour the gun boats returned, and I got aboard the sloop about an hour after dark. While cruising off this port we met other ships of our fleet, and all, by signal from the senior officer, ran under Cape Noley and anchored. Our Captain dined on board the *Ardent* of 64 guns, which ship was that of the senior officer's; and soon after he came on board the signal was made for a lieutenant from our brig, which I answered; it was then just dusk, and the *Ardent's* crew were busy purchasing her anchor, which, as a lumping sea was beginning to tumble in, became difficult; indeed it struck me, on going on board, that a kind of confusion prevailed, and I was glad to get out of her again. On my return on board, our brig got under weigh, and stood out under easy sail in company with the *Lutine* of 32 guns, that had been taken from the French; she sailed remarkably well; her Captain's name was Macnamara, a very gallant officer.

The evening set in very dark and hazy, and blowing hard. In the first watch, between nine and ten, something like the sound of guns was heard, but after attending some time it was concluded to be that of distant thunder, and as it ceased, no more was thought of it, though it was remarked it "surely cannot be the *Ardent* firing guns of distress." However next morning neither

of our companions were visible. We kept our cruising ground some time, and occasionally were told when we boarded vessels, that the French fleet had left Toulon and were at sea; this our Captain supposed could hardly be the case, as the French ships-of-war, which were at Toulon, had been reported burnt and destroyed by the English when they evacuated that place. One morning, however, an old Scotchman, belonging to the after-guard, famous for a long sight, said that he saw ships to leeward; but although we made use of our glasses, and all the eyes we could muster, both aloft and upon deck, yet no one could perceive any thing like a sail on the horizon but the old Scotchman. I, however, had a certain kind of presentiment, an indescribable feeling, that all would not go right; and after it was decided that nothing was to be seen, I went down to my cabin, and feeling sleepy, lay down upon my bed, and slept soundly for about three hours, and on going upon deck found that the brig had been running before the wind great part of that time, as the Captain wished to ascertain if there were ships in that direction, and that signals had been made from us to two ships, hull down to leeward, which signals had not been answered, and in consequence of this the brig had again been hauled to the wind, and was carrying what sail she could to get away from these two ships.

The two ships were gaining upon us fast, for as it blew fresh our sloop made but little way against a head sea, so we stood in shore for smoother water, but all to no purpose, for the head-most frigate of the two, which we now found to be French by her hoisting the National flag, soon ranged up alongside of us, and opening her broadside with a running fire from aft to forward, prevented our bearing up for the fleet to leeward, which the Captain supposed to be our own, and as the other frigate was by this time coming up fast, resistance on our part would have been madness, so the Captain gave orders to strike our colours; the frigate however kept up her fire, in consequence of which I hailed her in French, observing that her continuing

to fire at us would force us to our guns, and though we could not do much our shot would tell; they then ceased firing, and sent a boat on board, which conveyed the Captain and myself on board the French frigate, and some of the ship's company were sent for afterwards. We were taken between Monaco and Oneglia.

The frigate now bore up for the fleet that was to leeward, and which sure enough was composed of those ships that had been reported to have been burnt and destroyed by the English before they evacuated Toulon, so that we were in fact taken by their resuscitation, and these ghosts of ships, though dirty, had a very warlike appearance. The reader will be able to judge of our surprise when we found we had been taken by the ships stated to have been burnt and destroyed by Lord Hood, on his evacuation of Toulon. This little anecdote will shew what little dependence is to be placed in the *London Gazettes*, when they have to speak of disasters whether by sea or land. Ships destroyed at the evacuation of Toulon appears to have been as much at variance with real truth as any of the bulletins of the French Emperor, when he wished to conceal the disasters which had befallen him.

Some short time after we had been on board it fell calm; I was standing conversing with some of the officers of the frigate, when her first lieutenant began to abuse the English most unmercifully, and all of a sudden, working himself up into a rage, he snatched the cockade out of my hat and threw it overboard; from this and other circumstances I was aware the reign of terror governed here. Upon my first coming on board the frigate, I was recognised by several of her men as the English officer who had treated the French prisoners on board the National privateers taken at Genoa with much kindness and care after capturing them, and I really think this operated in our favour in the sequel.

As the frigate ran down to the fleet they beat to quarters some time before sunset, and placing us all upon the main hatchway and fore gratings, the first lieutenant when all were at quarters, came up close

to us, and taking off his coat and tucking up his shirt sleeves, bared his arms up to his shoulders, and then began to sing the *Marseillois Hymn*, in which the whole of the French ship's company joined, and at each chorus the lieutenant held up his fists to us in a menacing manner, as wishing to work himself into a rage; at one time I expected he would have struck me, indeed I began to think it was his intention, if possible, to have wound up the feelings of his comrades, and then to have butchered us during this fever of Republican intoxication, as being a fit time to put the existing decree of the National Assembly into execution, of making no English prisoners; but as we did not attempt by the least appearance, either in action or word, to furnish his rancour with a pretext to make a beginning, his rage passed off, as I am pretty certain the smallest appearance on our part to the contrary would most probably have been seized upon by men so infatuated as a pretext to some decided violence or other.

It was now that I felt the care I had so notoriously shewn to the French prisoners, as well as to the wounded men before mentioned taken by us at Genoa, operate in our favour, as that seemed to weigh against this ferocious attempt of the lieutenant to excite the frigate's crew to overt acts of unjustifiable cruelty. On coming into the fleet, the Captain of the French frigate went on board the Admiral's ship, a three-decker, and upon his return he seemed to be much disconcerted; he and all his officers left the deck, and in a little time our men, who had till now been kept aft on the quarter-deck with sentinels placed over them, were ordered below, and shortly afterwards we were ordered below likewise, where with our men, agreeable to Republican ideas, we were crammed into the main hold on the cables which were coiled upon the casks, there being no orlop deck in French frigates, and there destined to pass the night. The hatchway gratings were battened down and a sentinel placed over us, no light was allowed, or any thing that could in the least contribute to our comfort—(this was illtreatment !)—indeed the personal ill usage I received from this enraged Republican

lieutenant was almost insupportable; however, my helpless situation kept me within bounds, for had it not, most likely myself as well as the whole of the *Speedy's* crew would have been butchered.

We sent a verbal remonstrance to the Captain, and in about an hour I was had up out of the hold, and conducted to him; he and his officers were eating their supper off the rudder head in his cabin. I pointed out our situation to him; he said he was sorry for it, but that the French Admiral, and Jambon [Jean Bon] St. Andre, the Representative of the people, had reprimanded him for having treated us so leniently, and that now he must obey his orders. All the officers with him held down their heads, feeling for our situation, except the first lieutenant, who once or twice attempted to speak, but was immediately silenced by the Captain. I observed to obey orders was his duty, but that he might rely upon it retaliation of illtreatment, if it did follow our captivity, would fall upon themselves; that many of his ship's company, who were on board the National privateer that I took when at Genoa, remembered me, and had already acknowledged before him upon the quarter-deck when I first came on board the frigate he commanded, my kind treatment of them when in my power; that I not only supplied them with all I could, but likewise, to all such as were civilians, I had procured their liberty to go on shore, and had set them free of prison. He acknowledged it all; I then left him; he asked me to drink a glass of wine, but I declined it, and returned to my companions in misfortune in the main hold.

In a short time after this the officers were called up out of the hold, and conducted to the cockpit, when a something was brought for us to eat, and the warrant officers who lived there seemed much to commiserate our situation; they gave us up their beds. The next day the frigates of the fleet made sail after an English sloop-of-war, which I afterwards heard was commanded by the Hon. Charles Elphinstone, who, by keeping to windward, got away from them. In the night, however, we heard a great bustle on deck, the cause of which

we could not ascertain. When morning came we understood from the sentinel placed over us that the French fleet was pursued by the English fleet, and that they were making the best of their way into Gourgon [Gourgean] Bay; that the frigate we were on board of had carried away her maintop mast in the night, and the bustle was in their getting up another. As the Republican frigate kept working into Gourgon Bay, we could through the scuttles of the cabin when she tacked see the English fleet about four miles off to leeward.

The French fleet, however, made good their anchorage, and we were immediately landed and marched upon the summit of a sugar-loaf eminence, where we found the ship's company of a Sardinian frigate that had been taken the day before us, by the same fleet which had been reported to Parliament as having been burnt and destroyed at Toulon before the English evacuated that port, so that the Sardinian frigate, as well as H. M. sloop *Speedy*, had been captured by the resuscitated fleet that had been burnt at Toulon. When the French sent us prisoners on shore, their fleet was busily employed in getting springs upon their cables, to prevent the English fleet from entering, and all was in confusion, as the harbour was not fortified, and had a push been made the whole of this fleet might have been captured, burnt, and destroyed, never to resuscitate any more. The foot of this eminence we were upon was soon surrounded by troops, and a soldier from every tenth man marched up the eminence, forcing us prisoners to collect into a body at its top; one of our men came and told me that he understood we were all going to be shot, and asked me what we should do; my answer was that we had it not in our power to do any thing.

The man upon this became quite absorbed, and began to walk round and round in a small circle, repeating to himself, just loud enough to be heard,—"to be shot in cold blood!"—"to be shot in cold blood!" and in this way he continued to go on, and to appearance this idea had deprived him of all observation except

that of being shot in cold blood. The Sardinian ship's company were now separated from us, and the troops having loaded their pieces, they closed in upon us a little more and halted. In this state of suspense we remained some time, after which we formed four and four abreast, and marched towards the town with a line of troops on each side, skirted by some horse.

As we came near the town the inhabitants had lined the road, and kept hissing at us as we passed into the town of Antibes, upon entering which we were marched upon the ramparts to the right, and the Sardinians to the left, and quite separated from each other; some bread and wine was served to us; after which we were crammed into an arched bricked vault under the wall of the fortification that surrounded the town. The door of this den was grated, through which there was just light enough to see all round; the door when shut was fastened with bars outside, bolted and padlocked. We were allowed a tub to do our occasions in, and a little dirty straw, which had served the hospital, for the officers to sleep upon; the floor was bricked, and we were in all seventy-five men, so that the place could hardly contain us.

With the already used straw from the hospital we made ourselves beds, upon which we lay close to each other, one row with their heads to the wall and the next with their feet to ours, and so on alternately over the whole place. When we were all lain down there was no room to walk, and if we rose in the night or early in the morning, our walk was the length we lay on; as it was summer time we seldom felt cold until towards the morning; we slept in our clothes; as to my part I took off my coat when I lay down, and covered my feet with it, and as luck would have it my servant had saved me three shirts and a pair of stockings in a bag, which served me for a pillow. The guard over us used to be relieved daily at ten o'clock in the morning; at this time the gate of our prison was thrown open, and after the officer had counted us he delivered us over to the one who relieved him, when both guards marched off, and locking the gate, two sentinels paraded outside

UNIFORMS OF NAVAL OFFICERS CIRCA 1804

Left to right : Admiral, full uniform ; Post-Captain of more than three years' standing, undress ; Lieutenant, undress.

before it. During the time the gate remained open the tub was carried out, and at a few paces from the gate emptied and cleaned as well as it could be without water, and brought in again. Our food was brought us once a day; it consisted of bread, an allowance of wine, and a soup made of the entrails of animals boiled, but as the entrails were boiled with the rest of the meat and never cleaned, the soup stunk to that degree it was impossible to eat it for the first day or two, but at last it went down. In a few days after we contrived to get a man to mess us for dinner, but this he did so sparingly that we never knew what it was to have a full meal.

One day when our guard was being relieved, some of the French officers of the troops came into our prison while the gate remained open, and conducted themselves very insultingly towards us (the officers). Sometimes it was with difficulty we could procure water to quench our burning thirst, which caused the men to become very clamorous, to the entertainment of the sentinels, who used frequently to laugh at us without giving notice of our wants to the corporal of the guard, and when water was brought, it being handed to us through the bars of our prison in a small pot, the greater part was spilt in the scramble to get at it, and several got none, and the soldiers who brought it soon left off handing it to us at all, the bucket being very quickly emptied. Once our men were so thirsty, and the sentry so bent upon not giving us any water, that the men became clamorous, and the whole guard presented themselves before the gate, and I really expected they would fire upon us, but by a well-timed remonstrance at their neglect, water was brought.

This cruel treatment, and the general want of the common comforts of life as well in food, with the stench from the tubs, (for it was in the month of August) so preyed upon the gunner and another man, that they were soon gallopped off by the cholera morbus in the night, and when the guard was relieved the next day we were allowed to take their bodies out, and lay them about twenty yards from the door of our prison, nor

was it until they became very offensive, that they brought us a shovel and allowed a couple of our men to go and dig a very shallow hole to put them into, when they, as well as the accumulation of filth collected at the same place by the daily emptying of our tub, were only partly covered over with it and the earth.

Our custom was in the morning to rake with our hands the straw together that served us to lay upon, each man's by itself, and then walk backwards and forwards for exercise. Having myself always a feeling as though it was possible to elude the vigilance of the guard, I became bent upon trial, and told the whole of the officers of my intention, at which they smiled in a jeering way as though I would not try the experiment, but when the gate of our prison was thrown open, that the guard upon duty might draw up in a line, with one flank within the prison, while the relief marched in and drew up on the opposite side, and the officers counting us prisoners, I marched out, and turning to the left, descended from the ramparts and went into the town, and saw our fleet in the offing blockading the French fleet in Gourgon Bay, and after loitering about some little time, and making my remarks, I returned to my prison, where I had some difficulty to surmount before I was let in, it being supposed I had had permission from the officer who had been relieved. My comrades now saw that I could evade the vigilance of the guard, and had I have chosen at that time to have got away, no doubt I might, but considering those I should leave behind might be more rigorously confined, (which could not well be) I did not hazard either them nor myself ; more on their account however than my own.

In this prison at Antibes we remained for some weeks, when we were escorted by both foot and horse coastways to Aix, in Provence, and it being summer we set off before day-break in the morning, ere the heat of the sun became too intense to march. At the places we halted we were lodged sometimes in a stable and sometimes in a church, and served with a little bread and wine ; at one place we came to, the soup of entrails

was brought us in the cauldron it was boiled in, but the stench was so disagreeable that, hungry as we were, we could not stomach it; at another place we were lodged in a church, where, to prevent myself being tormented by fleas, the master of the sloop and I got upon the sounding board over the pulpit, where we slept all night, while our companions on the straw below kept clapping their hands upon their legs and arms to smash the swarms that settled upon them: at this time the interior of all churches were mutilated, and turned into stables for the horses of the troops, which occasionally passed to and from the armies. Upon our march we generally halted before entering a town or village, and were formed in order of march, two and two, the troops flanking us on each side, with a drum in front tattooing, the inhabitants always collecting about us as we were paraded in the open place in the town, where we halted to rest for an hour.

At one of these villages while halting, being very thirsty, I begged of an old woman, who had filled her jug at a fountain close by, to let me drink: this she refused me, with bitter invectives against the enemies of the Republic; another, however, that followed her, lifted up the jug, and when I was upon the point of drinking, a man from out the crowd assembled around us ran up and dashed it from my lips, and at the same time commencing a train of abuse, pointed to a poplar tree that was surmounted by a cap of liberty, observing that although the tree had only been planted since Louis was beheaded, it had readily sprung up so high now, for that tyranny was at an end. This person was evidently one of those wretches kept in continual pay by the powerful party of the day, who by their fury held all persons in check, as none dared to contradict their harangues, and though all present apparently applauded, yet I thought many averse to the applause. The drum however soon put us in order of march, and just as we were going off, the same old woman who had been prevented before from giving me water, brought me some in a mug mixed with a little vinegar to drink; I quenched my thirst, and offered

her money for her humanity, which she refused. As we advanced more into the interior of the country, we were not so closely guarded, but left more to ourselves for the time we halted, with directions to attend to the beat of the drum, so that I had an opportunity of breathing a little more freely.

On our arrival at Aix, in Provence, the men were marched and lodged in the *caserne* or gaol, and the officers went to an inn. The next day some of the officers went to the gaol to look after the men, and there they were kept; and the day after I went there likewise to know the cause of their detention, and I was likewise kept, without any cause being assigned; so that we were now altogether in this gaol, which was crowded with suspected persons of both sexes. Here we found the officers and crew of the Sardinian frigate, who had been marched to Aix, some time past; of their leaving Antibes we had been kept totally ignorant. From them we learnt that a decree of the French National Assembly (to make no English prisoners) had been enforced on the helpless crew of an English merchant vessel, which had been captured by one of the frigates that had been reported to have been burnt and destroyed at Toulon; the information was as follows:—After the French frigate had captured the merchant vessel, the French Captain observed to his ship's company that the decree of the National Assembly would oblige him to order the death of the merchant vessel's crew; to this his ship's company remonstrated, but he replied that of himself he could not attend to their remonstrances, though, if they drew up a petition, he would attach his signature to it as well as the rest, but that he could not be the first to sign his name: no other person would sign first, and so the poor defenceless men were brought up upon the forecastle of the frigate and there shot to death in cold blood. This decree I afterwards found out was intended to be put in force against us, had not our fleet coming upon the French so suddenly prevented it, which forcing them into Gourgon Bay, where they expected to be attacked immediately, they let go their anchor, and then sent us on shore directly.

During the time that we were kept upon the sugar-loaf eminence after landing, until we were marched into the town of Antibes, a parley had been carried on between the Governor of the troops on shore, the Rear-Admiral on board the French fleet, and the Representative of the people, relative to our being shot! One would not enforce the decree because we were not originally his prisoners, and the other could not because as we were no more in his possession, so in consequence of this construction the butchering business was deferred until the Governor should receive further orders from Paris to the report he should make. The answer returned from Paris purported that the Governor had already the decree, but the Governor not deeming this a direct order for him to enforce it, sent again to Paris for further directions, when the Directory came to the resolution, that as the decree had not been already enforced, the English prisoners were to be marched to Aix, in Provence. This information clearly developed to me why we had been detained so long upon the eminence on our first landing, and why the Sardinians were separated from us there, as well as their being sent away from Antibes some time before us, and the cruel treatment we experienced some days after when confined in the vaults under the walls of Antibes.

I some time after this was informed, that it was owing to the firm remonstrance of the Austrian Government, who, upon the publication of this fiend-like decree, gave the Directory to understand that upon the first English prisoner being put to death in consequence of this decree, that a general extermination of all the French prisoners throughout the whole of Austria would follow: at this time Austria had a great number. This firm conduct of Austria checked the Directory in their thirst for English blood, and saved the crew of the *Speedy*. In our new gaol at Aix, during the day time, we were allowed to walk about the yard, but at night the officers of the Piedmontese frigate and ourselves were locked up in a strong room together; they slept on one side of it and we on the other. The Captain's name of the Piedmontese frigate was Ross, a Scotchman,

who, having been in the Sardinian service some time, had rose to be their principal sea officer; his other officers were natives of the State he served, and all of them were very excellent and intelligent men. From our strong room we could see through the iron bars of our window into the yard of the gaol, but not further than that, a high wall enclosing our view.

From the number and various descriptions of prisoners pent up here, the unwholesomeness of the place and miserable food, I became very ill: my servant, an Italian, said he was sure my complaint was worms, and advised my eating a pound or so of brown sugar, a little at a time and that in continuance, and when I should feel sickly to drink red Burgundy wine. At his advice I procured and ate the brown sugar; in less than two days, feeling very sick, I drank off at once half a bottle of Burgundy; my sickness increased, and I loathed the rest of both sugar and wine; however, I was prevailed by the Italian officers still to persevere; I did so, and drank more wine, and in a little time, beginning to retch, brought up such quantities of worms knotted together that I really thought I should be choked; however, by mere force, I used to pull them out of my mouth and throat by my fingers. In this state I continued more than two hours; at last the retching left off, and a little warm broth was given me; I fell asleep and slept soundly until the next morning, but found myself too weak to rise from my bed of straw. In a few days, however, I acquired strength enough to get up and walk about the room, and shortly, still gaining strength, went about the gaol as usual. Persons suspected of counter views to the reigning party were arriving daily at this prison, on their way to Orange, and it frequently happened that a party of these, for want of place in the gaol, were lodged for the night in one room. They were brought mostly in the dead of the night, just in the same dress they had been arrested in; some in their nightgowns, &c. A whole family in this state were brought in a coach, linked by a small chain to each other, even to the very infant at the breast of the nurse.

Such were our continual visitors, and though carried away as fast as they could be conveyed to Orange, a kind of head-quarters for guillotining, still faster did others arrive, till at last the gaol became crammed; but what seemed to me very extraordinary was, that the person who had the supreme command of this gaol should be a woman; her two daughters lived with her, and she had three gaolers and a turnkey to assist her. By three iron-grated doors only could ingress to this depôt of terror be had; these were locked and unlocked as the victim got from one to the other. As I spoke French pretty fluently it was not long before I became noticed by the gaoleress, who invited me every now and then to eat a salad and drink a glass of wine, which I readily assented to, as by this I procured access all over the prison, as well as a certain degree of respect from the under gaolers and turnkey, so that I could attend at the iron-grated door when state prisoners came and went away, without the liability of being thrust aside by the rude push of Republican terrorism and the turnkey.

Some little time after we had been immured here, the visiting commissary, who had the treatment of prisoners of war, had us all drawn out in rank before him one afternoon, then taking a letter from his pocket he observed that he was informed by letter from Paris that some one amongst us was an agent of Pitt and George, and that he had orders that this person should be closely confined, then casting his eyes first upon one and then on another, he fixed upon me, and looking at his letter and then at me, he pointed at me with his whip, saying he believed me to be the person mentioned in the information; upon which I replied that certainly I was an agent of Pitt and George, for I was the first lieutenant of the English sloop of war that had been taken by the French fleet, and as such an open agent, from having been taken in arms, but as to anything else I was not in any way concerned, and I instantly made an appeal to the gaoleress whether or not I had in any way transgressed the rules of the prison.

The commissary heeded not what I said, but told the gaoleress to let me be closely confined in a dungeon, and "*au serrure*," were his words. Now knowing pretty well what *au serrure* meant, I felt uneasy, but my fears were soon removed by the gaoleress, who told the commissary with some warmth that she would answer for my safety, and begged me to be under no apprehension as she did not care a flea for him. The commissary left the prison under apparent disappointment, and the gaoleress told me when he was gone that I might go about as usual, only to be careful and not be seen in any crowd, or where any noise was making or likely to be made. The same afternoon the gaoleress asked me if I would walk into her apartments, and take a cup of coffee. I immediately assented, but no sooner had I sat down than I felt as if I had done a foolish thing. "I have just had my coffee," says she; "but there is still a good cup left if you choose it." This remark seemed somewhat strange when coupled with the visit and the observations of herself and the commissary, and I felt as though they might be in a league and the coffee poisoned. I took the coffee offered me, and as she gave it she said "be under no apprehension," importing she knew my thoughts. I drank the coffee under full uncertainty as to what would be the result, reflecting at the same time that if I was to be a victim it would be less suffering by a cup of coffee than more open and violent measures.

To those who have been in France during the violence of parties, my suspicions will not appear unfounded, and perhaps the following occurrence, under my own eyes, will shew how easy any person obnoxious to the reigning party was got rid of. I was talking with the gaoleress in her apartments below one afternoon, when all of a sudden she started from her chair, and going to the door asked who it was that was making such a noise. Her first assistant said that he would go and see, (for there was always one of the gaolers waiting outside of the door of her apartments); he returned almost immediately, and named a person who was confined there, as suspected, that had made the

noise. The under gaolers were called, and desired to bring the person before her; he was brought but he positively denied having made the least noise, yet notwithstanding this, he was conducted *au cachôt*, and there locked up. About the same hour of the day, three days after, the gaoleress made inquiries about the man who had been confined in the dungeon; and being told that he was still in confinement, she appeared very angry and ordered him to be let out. The same gaoler who locked him up took the keys and went so to do, followed by a number of the prisoners, and upon opening the door of the dungeon, the man was laying close to the second door with a part of his arm eat off, which he had eaten to quench his thirst and hunger. Immediately the state of the prisoner was reported to the gaoleress, she instantly began exclaiming, "Oh! the poor creature; why was he not supplied with food;" and then apparently scolded the gaoler for neglect.

In the mean time the poor man, weak and all besmeared with his own blood, begged to be led to a fountain that stood in the common yard of the prison; he was led to the trough into which the water came, and from being always full it ran over the edge of the vessel; to this he applied his mouth, and drinking heartily, fell backwards and instantly expired. Upon this notice was sent to those whose business it was to amass the dead; two men came with tri-coloured scarfs over their shoulders, and wrapping the body in a piece of cloth, dragged it out of the prison into an empty chapel close by, and leaving it there with other dead bodies, locked the door, until further accumulation of dead persons made it worth their trouble to dig a hole in the next field and put them all in together. I now saw what might have been my fate had it not been for the kindness of the gaoleress.

One forenoon, on going into the large room crowded with suspected persons of both sexes, a general cry of "*le voilá! le voilá l'Anglais.*" A man who was reading the newspaper, standing in the middle of the room, surrounded by all the rest of his unfortunate com-

panions called out, "Have you seen the newspaper, lieutenant? the French fleet have beaten the English fleet under Lord Howe, taken nine of your line-of-battle ships, sunk seven, and the rest ran away. What do you tink of that, lieutenant? what do you tink of that, lieutenant? Here is the Gazette, read it." "Not I, it is all a fudge; besides the Gazette says that one of the French ships had five English on her at once, that she was sunk, and that her Captain swam in his uniform to Brest, as none of the English would pick him up. Do you believe such damn'd stuff? besides, if that is the case, the guillotine will shave you all at Orange in ten days at most." So I wished them all a good morning, and left them, and in a few days after this they came to their senses. Some Austrian prisoners of war that were lodged here on their way into the interior of France, told us that the newspapers spoke false. One of these prisoners, a very stout well-made man, used exultingly to recount to the crowd of prisoners round him how he treated the French soldiers in battle, that he never gave quarter; indeed so severe were his remarks upon the sans culots, that I was astonished they did not draw down upon him and his comrades the good will of the Republicans in whose hands he then was.

This gaol was the common receptacle of all classes and all kinds of delinquents; amongst others there came two hundred Galèriens. The court-yard was cleared of other prisoners, and these respectable visitors had it exclusively to themselves. They were chained in tens together, each having an iron ring round his neck, with five long links of chain between each person; they lay about the court-yard, and upon every occasion the two men next to any one that moved were obliged to move likewise, upon some occasions the whole ten were in motion, when each person bore his portion of the five links of the chain each way that hung between him and his fellow in misery to keep it from dragging on the ground, or otherwise incommoding them as they walked along; some of these miserables had clothes on, and some scarce any at all; no person in the gaol

was allowed to go near them, or into the yard during their stay. These offenders had been here about three hours, and just eaten the pittance allowed them, when all of a sudden, hearing loud and repeated attacks, I amongst others ran hastily towards the yard, but was stopped at the gate by the gaoleress, who told me on no account to go further than the half door; from this I saw, about five yards from me, two of the Galèriens beating one other between them on the head with the links of their chain, which soon put an end to his shrieks; they then beat his head through the ring which went round his neck. No person interfered, other than looking on, and I afterwards learnt that these two men had done this deed to rid themselves of the man, who, having a flux upon him, became so troublesome and disagreeable to the whole ten, that they were determined to get rid of him, so they killed him outright; such was the law of the chain. The dead body was taken to the chapel close by, and the gaoleress told me that these Galèriens, being condemned for life, punishment other than the chain would only be considered as mercy, and no other notice would be taken of it than that the two murderers would have to drag the weight of the dead man's chain until some other should be put in between them.

From having continually employed my idle time in sketching all objects that came in my way, I could not only represent upon paper all I saw, but likewise all other things a fanciful imagination chose to pourtray; and being very desirous of obtaining freedom from continual confinement, I made inquiries of the *traiteur* who brought us our morsel at dinner, whether any painter resided in that part of France? he told me there was one in the town of Aix, and that he was president of the academy of painting there. Upon this information, I drew a camel hair pencil upon a piece of paper with pen and ink, named by painters in England a swan quill, and wrote under it that the person who had drawn it was a prisoner of war, who hearing a professor lived at Aix, begged that he would at his convenience visit the captive. Then folding it

neatly, sent it to the painter, by the boy who brought us daily our morsel from the inn (the White Lamb) —our dinner and breakfast; supper we could not accomplish.

In about three hours after the gaoleress sent to say she would be glad to see me at the gate; away I went, and found a little man, wearing a large cocked hat, with a national cockade not bigger than a half-crown piece mounted in the button-loop of his hat, shabbily dressed, standing by her. When I came, "Citoyen," says he, producing my note, "is this your's?" "Yes," I answered. "Then I am the person you wish to see;" and after a few compliments, I told him, that wishing to pursue drawing, which my present inactivity admitted, I hoped that he as a professor and lover of the art would feel for the unfortunate situation of one whose love of it equalled his, and I begged that he would use his interest if possible to procure my free egress and ingress of the prison, in which case I could frequent his society and improve myself, provided he considered me far enough advanced in the art to profit by the occasion. To this he cordially assented, "for," says he, "I see by the specimen you sent me your time has not been thrown away;" so greeting me with the *accolade* favourable, he said he would bear me in mind.

The next day he came again, and said that he had made mention of me in the Jacobin club, but that the heat of party was so high he could not at once procure for me what I wanted, though he hoped in a day or two to bring me more favourable news. In a couple of days after he came, and as I was upon good terms with the gaoleress, it was agreed between them that he was to be accountable for my return at night; so I left the gaol, and went with him to his house in the town, where I found that he was a landscape painter of no mean ability, and as to his drawings in Indian ink they were really beautiful and masterly. We soon became acquainted, and as the times had entirely put a stop to all but mad liberty, the academy had fell into neglect, no person except himself and a pupil or two remaining of what once had been denominated

such, but he should be glad for me to come to his house and paint with him. I did so, leaving my prison in the morning, and returning at night before lock-up time.

The gaol was a very large building, standing without the gates of the town upon the left on the road to Toulon, and one evening, returning to my prison-house after dark, the outward sentinel challenged me with "*qui vive!*" to which I answered "*ami!*" "*Nous n'avons point d'amis,*" says the sentinel; upon which, instantly recollecting myself, I answered "citizen." "*Passe, citoyen,*" says the sentinel. I passed, and made use of this term most in fashion afterwards. The second Captain [1] of the Sardinian frigate, besides being a well-read man, was exceedingly good company; with him I soon became intimate; he was about forty years of age, named Cachiardi, a Sardinian baron, and man of family, and being desirous that he as well as myself should enjoy free egress and ingress of the gaol, we applied to the gaoleress, who readily, on my becoming responsible for him, acquiesced in our request, so that we used frequently to go and dine in the town and go to the theatre, and in our perambulations now and then meet the commissary who would have thrown me into the dungeon, as I was an emissary of Pitt and George, but I always took care to be in the gaol and present when he mustered the prisoners.

The number of suspected persons that were brought here on their way to Orange quite filled the prison, for the Government could not spare troops to escort them thither, where, when they arrived, they pretty well knew the guillotine would most likely close their career; yet, notwithstanding this, these people while they remained in the prison were always gay and lively, playing cards, reading the newspapers, or doing something or another to drive away care, as well as making their remarks most freely on all they read in the papers, and all this in addition to their eternal jabber, for they were never silent. Entering one morning into a room crammed with them, the whole

[1] The English equivalent naval rank was then first lieutenant.

of them were attentively listening to a paragraph which one of them was reading aloud, detailing the seizing of Robespierre, but as this was only the first account they did not venture to give free scope to their joy; however the next day it was confirmed, when an universal shout of "*Vive! Vive!*" echoed from one end of the prison to the other, each detenue embracing each other as they ran from room to room.

On his death being confirmed they were all liberated, so that the prison became empty, excepting ourselves and prisoners confined for crimes. In about a fortnight we were liberated likewise from this prison, and an empty convent close by assigned for us to live in, which, having undergone the purification of the Revolution, was completely inside in a state of ruin, not a window-sash or door remaining; however here we chose out rooms, got ourselves supplied with clean straw to lay upon, and was paid our weekly stipend of assignats by the commissary's clerk to procure us food. Opposite our convent, on the other side of the road, was a garden, where in more tranquil times the people of Aix resorted to for recreation; with its present owner the officers agreed for their being furnished with a dinner at so much a head, as to breakfast each did as they thought proper, and as the convent was not far from the roadside, with a good look out every way, without the trouble of lifting up the sash of the window, I generally saw the peasants going to market, and from their well loaded baskets on their mules, got for less than an English penny both black and white grapes in large bunches, weighing about four pounds; these, with bread and the third of a bottle of Burgundy wine, I used to make a most delicious breakfast. Burgundy wine, ever since it had worked such a cure on me while in prison, had become a favourite beverage; and as I was regarded as a person in whom confidence could be placed, many a good Republican ventured to open their minds to me upon the state of politics; these good people were from necessity violent Republicans, indeed several used to show me a print of their late King, which from fear they kept hid, as well as other

things that bore marks of Royalty, and, like Doctor Franklin, one of them had hid his under the close-stool pan, in a secret slide he had made for the purpose. Several of these had good wine hid, fearing its being seized if known for the service of the Republic, so that I got for money a few bottles of Burgundy when I wanted it, which was always brought to me in the night, that upon the whole I now found myself pretty comfortable.

At this old convent we continued some time, when we were informed that in the course of four or five days we should all be marched up the country beyond Orange, it being considered we were too near the sea coast. This to me was by no means agreeable, as it would put an end to my projects; therefore, upon application to our surgeon, and the French one who had to attend prisoners, I was permitted to remain behind, on the plea of a hurt I had sustained when transporting a cannon from one side of the quarter-deck to the other, to engage a Spanish 74 off Cadiz; and what was still more agreeable, the Sardinian officer with whom I frequently associated, had upon the same, or some pretence or other, got permission to remain likewise. The morning of separation came, and my fellow-prisoners were marched off, while I remained alone in the convent, where, at my years, finding the vastness of the building solitary, no other person being with me, as well as open to the access of any fanatic that chose to molest me, not being allowed arms of any kind, I made an agreement with the man who owned the garden where we used to dine, to receive me into his house, and for me to live with the family, and in the course of a fortnight or better I took up my abode there. I had dinner and supper, and a small room to sleep in, finding my wine and breakfast apart, for here the natives have no nominal breakfast. The Sardinian officer had taken a lodging in the town, so that we were separated from each other nearly a mile.

This garden was called *Jardin d'amour*; the garden gate led out to the road leading to Toulon, the whole was bounded by a high wall, the house stood nearly

in the middle of the garden, and the ground, about twelve acres, was well cultivated, full of excellent fruit trees, particularly mulberry and fig. The present owner had formerly been head cook to the Archbishop of Aix; he had not forgot his art, and his family consisted of a wife, three daughters, a servant-maid (who kept singing all day), and a man. Here I certainly enjoyed every comfort, and, excepting absence from my native country, I may say I was happy. The Sardinian officer and painter were the companions of my leisure hours; these, however, were few, as I frequently took long walks into the country, and it was seldom either of my two friends could accompany me, one being fully occupied with his painting, and the other not over desirous of contemplating constant marks of desolation caused by liberty.

This was not the only effects of the Revolution: a general distrust amongst men had in this part destroyed society, and although I occasionally met with some who when alone with me would pretty freely converse, yet, in the presence of a third person, little else than common observations about the appearance of the weather came upon the carpet. For several days troops had passed through Aix, on their way to Toulon, and by what I could collect an expedition [1] was fitting out there destined to the East, and the officers of these troops, when they halted for a few hours, would frequently come to dine at the garden where I resided; my host always took care to beg I would keep out of their sight, as he was fearful these fanatics might, when warm with wine, treat me ill, if it became known to them that I was an Englishman. I found his surmises well grounded, for they immediately on discovering an appearance of the smallest item indicative of aristocracy on the furniture or walls of the rooms in which they eat and drank, drew out their sabres and mutilated them to the utmost, so that not an ornament was left, and the walls of the rooms inside bore the appearance of desolation; indeed the reign of terror had so separated man from man, that those who had ornamental works

[1] Destined for the recovery of Corsica. *See* James, I, 282 *sq.*

of artists in their possession hid them, and in secret, with their doors locked, now and then only would venture to recreate themselves with a sight of these things, intended to be placed in the full view of all—such as prints, books, pictures, &c. and as most of these had a crown, or arms, or some other mark indicative of aristocracy on the back or title page, the possessor would have surely been denounced.

My host had for some time past promised me a fête—it was to take place at no very distant period. At last the day came: a fine turkey was put down to roast for the family dinner, and two or three made dishes prepared by himself, for he was a master in his art; the gaiety of the family led me to contemplate the cheerful scene with expectancy and pleasure, and when dinner was served the first slice of the turkey was given to me, but instead of my knife, fork, and spoon of pewter, I found silver spoons and forks in their stead: here the secret was out, and I was given to understand that at twelve o'clock that day, all over France, the plate that had been buried and hid was again brought to light—Robespierre was no more, and with him fled the dread of being denounced as a suspected person, because you had plate or other convertible articles in your possession; the rapacious gripe of tyranny would have demanded all such superfluities to be given up for the benefit of the Republic, to feed and sustain itself, leaving only the bare necessaries for yourself. The rest of the day was a scene of joy, and a kind of visiting soon afterwards took place, with an appearance of approaching confidence, and the countenances of all, except such of those who had been led away by the doctrine of Robespierre's opinions, bore signs of joy.

The town of Aix began about this time to wear a military appearance, large bodies of troops, horse and foot, were assembled, and after passing in review were sent onwards towards Toulon, other troops as quickly supplied the place of those gone forwards; next came cannon and other war-like stores, and the troops that came after this were sent forward without waiting

to be reviewed. All these things put me on the alert, but the only information I could get, for I was fearful to stir much in this matter, was that they were going to join an expedition to the East from Toulon. Being desirous of giving every information in my power to the Commander-in-Chief on the Mediterranean station, I felt prompted to risk the hazard of getting away, therefore I set about devising the means. This I soon accomplished.

One thing gave me uneasiness; it was the Sardinian officer whom I should leave behind, for although he was a man of good sense I did not like to break my intentions to him; however, after all was arranged ready for my departure, I determined to sound him; so going to his lodgings I proposed a walk to see some troops that were to come through the town at three o'clock; we had scarcely got upon the place before a body of three thousand cavalry filed off towards the gate which led to Toulon. The countenance of my companion shewed me that he was no friend to them; I asked him how he would like to get to his own country? "They," said he, pointing to the troops, "prevent the possibility of my doing it; besides the National Assembly will not suffer any exchange of prisoners, therefore——" "What!" said I, "why, therefore, is it impossible? Would you, if an occasion offered it, attempt it?" "Gladly," was his answer. "Then," said I, "the very reason you give for the infeasibility, appears to me the best guise to the undertaking." I then observed that we were now totally neglected by those who had us in charge, that we had not for some time received our subsistence money, and now in the general bustle not thought of. "So, my friend," I said, "I will see you to your lodging, and to-morrow you must dine with me; I will come and call for you at nine, and we will take a walk before dinner, and talk upon this subject." The next morning at nine o'clock I went to the lodgings of the Sardinian officer, and told him, that yesterday perceiving in him no repugnance to my suggestions, which, having well considered, I had for some weeks past got all in readiness

for immediate departure at half-past eleven that day, and had ordered dinner at ten, so that he had only to settle his lodgings, tie up a small bundle of clothes, and come with me at once.

The suddenness of the proposal had such an effect upon him that he sank on his chair; I instantly went to his cupboard and poured out a glass of wine, begging him to drink it; this and a glass or two more roused him to action, and though he wanted me to explain the means by which I proposed to carry my design into execution, I begged him to quiet himself, and defer his questions until we were out of the house and town, and as we walked to the gardens I would let him know all. He took what money he had, and, calling his landlady, paid his lodgings and a week in advance, besides observing he might not perhaps be at home for a day or so, and when she left the room he put a few things into his pocket handkerchief, and off we went to the gardens, where the family were preparing our dinner, as well as one for a party of officers belonging to a regiment of cavalry which was in the town. The anxiety of the good people of the house for my safety damped very much my appetite for dinner; we both eat little and drank less, but when the moment came for parting and I would pay my bill, the master of the house observed that the money was of no consideration, he had not received me into his family for gain, but that since I came there he had looked upon me as a son, and should not only miss me, but likewise be in fear for my safety, for if I should be stopped on the road the consequences might be serious. Here his tears as well as those of the rest of his family fell in abundance. I hurried an affectionate leave from each, and with a heavy heart left them, the good man letting us out the back way into the fields. We followed the guides I had procured at a distance behind.

When we got clear of the suburbs we put on our disguises as Genoese sailors, and mounted a national cockade on a bonnet rouge. It was not until we had walked some miles that either my companion or me exchanged a word, indeed most likely we should not

when we did had not a dust at a distance before us created alarm : we turned aside into some fields, and were at a good distance from the road before the carriage passed with two officers ; the carriage had a little tri-coloured flag flying out of the window, and when the vehicle was out of sight we returned into the road again.

Having passed the first check in safety, we began to feel less encumbered by those anxious fears incident to man when undertaking any thing where the result is extremes. Some little time afterwards we met a few straggling conscripts, for whom we did not leave the high road ; and a little before sun-set, upon gaining the summit of a hill, we beheld all at once the boundless sea, which neither of us had seen for months before. This sight had such an effect upon my companion and me that involuntarily we fell into the arms of each other, and sobbed like babies, silently congratulating each other as we beheld the element we had been nursed upon, and now, in the present tone of affairs, our hopes to freedom. Here we waited until dusk, and then descended the heights to the shore, where amongst the rocks we found a small open boat ready to receive us ; we got into her, and hoisting a small sail, a strong breeze from the north soon cleared us of Marseilles. It was my wish to have run well out to sea, but the three boatmen objected ; two of her crew, who had been our guides, and the Captain, observing that as it was coming on to blow hard it would be best to keep the land aboard, and assured me we stood in no danger from privateers or French vessels of any kind. My companion and me lay down on the bottom of the boat, in hopes of getting a little rest, and as the breeze had increased to a strong gale, and the night as dark as pitch, we considered ourselves safe, and our joy at being free kept us a long while awake.

From a sound sleep we were awoke a little after day-light by the men, who told us that a French *Garde Côte* was at anchor close under the point of land we were steering for, and had fired a gun for us to go to them to be examined ; she had national colours flying.

The men did not like this, lest we should be stopped, but how to avoid it they did not know. Having heard all they had to remark, I told them, if they would implicitly follow my advice, all would be well, at least the odds were in our favour. The privateer, I told them, was at anchor to prevent her being blown off the land, which, if she once lost, our cruisers might probably catch her, and as to ourselves upon that score we had nothing to fear : our best way would be to steer direct for her, and when upon her beam, about gun-shot from her, to keep the boat up in the wind as if striving to fetch her, by which manœuvre the boat would drift to leeward, when it would appear to them on board the privateer that we were doing our utmost to get to her, and consequently they would not fire at us, and when once we had drifted so broad upon her quarters as to be out of the training of her broadside guns, we would bear up and run direct out to sea, when the gale blowing very hard off shore, the privateer would be an hour at least purchasing her anchor, for I was sure they would not slip. My proposal was instantly agreed to ; so we hoisted the national colours, and stood right for her, and at a proper distance hauled close to the wind. I then took the helm, and kept the sail always upon the lift, so that our head-way was nothing.

In this manner we soon drifted about four points upon her quarter, the men in the privateer keeping their hats waving for us to tack ; we made the boat come nearly head to wind, as if striving to tack, and in her action of falling off, I directed them to let out the reefs, and immediately that she fell round off, up went our sail, and away we went right before it. We had hardly done so, when bang went a gun, but the shot fell a broad range astern of us. The men in the privateer ran forward to the windlass to heave up the anchor, but they soon left off, and laying down their hand spikes, gave us up for a bad job. We all laughed most heartily at the success of my scheme, and soon lost sight of the privateer. Being now safe, we close-reefed the sail, and hauled in for the land, when as we drew in the wind died quite away, and fell a dead calm, for here a hard gale seldom

lasts beyond 48 hours. At sun-set we found ourselves in with Frejus. My companion and me laid ourselves down on the bottom boards, and soon fell asleep, from which I awoke by the men rowing and by the heave of the boat, she seemed going out of her course ; so getting up I found my surmise just, and was surprised to find ourselves close in shore. The men told me it was past midnight, and that it was their intention to get into Gourgon Bay, as the current was setting us fast towards Toulon, when they would there rest, and that there was little water aboard. To all this I positively objected, observing that at Gourgon I was known, and if recognised detention would follow.

The men, notwithstanding my remonstrances, insisted upon going in. Upon their determination I lay down by my companion, and represented to him the danger to which we should be exposed if we went into Gourgon ; I also observed to him that three of the men were at the oars and the other aft at the tiller, and that I would go and sit by the one aft, who was the master of the boat, and endeavour to persuade him to alter his mind, which, if he would not, I would catch a favourable moment, and knock him backwards into the sea, and as to the three others it would then be three to two. My companion answered not, but prepared himself by grasping the large knife which he kept in his pocket. I got up and sat upon the gunwhale of the boat by the man at the tiller, requesting the man at the oar next to me to come and hear what I had to say : he lay his oar across the gunwhale and came, and sat by me on my left, so that I had two of the four in my power, and the other men laid their oars across likewise to rest themselves. I then pointed out our situation afresh, with my objections, observing how true all had turned out as I said with regard to the French privateer, but their stubbornness once or twice caused me to draw my elbow up so as to knock it into the men's bosoms that sat next to me, and drive them both overboard backwards : at last, thank God, the master and the others yielded to my observations, and they agreed to row back to Frejus ; so the course of the boat was altered, and I and my

companion lay down again and slept, and only awoke when the graplin was let go close to the rocky shore in Frejus bay.

At day-break we were awoke by the men saying the boat had been hailed from the shore, and they were getting up the graplin to row in, desiring one of us only to show himself, and for the other to lay down snug; so I got up, and began to loosen the sail and spread it to dry, the night dews having completely wet it; as the boat rowed up, the master of the boat took a small basket in his hand from out the after-locker, and went on shore to the person who had hailed us; he conversed with him about eight or ten minutes, and then called out for us to make up the sail, strike the mast, and get the oars ready; he came on board, but without the basket, and we left the place rowing: this was the second escape. It was quite calm, but in the course of the forenoon a breeze came from the north-west, which soon carried us beyond the limits of Republican France to the Sardinian coast, where we sought a place amongst the rocks to lay the boat in while we eat. The place we came to was as near as possible to that part of the coast where I had been made prisoner by the ghosts of the French fleet, which were reported to have been burnt at Toulon; but being now free, and beyond the grasp of tyranny, me and my companions made a most sumptuous meal off bread, cheese, and onions, and the remains of a flagon of wine. This was a happy moment; we had been fatigued by the pressure of captivity, and though our bodies and limbs had not been chained, yet they were so circumscribed that the mind had began to lose the elasticity so indispensable to the well being of the frame, and its enjoying advantageously the diurnal variation of the twenty-four hours.

Our sudden transition had so greatly fatigued us, that after our sumptuous repast we lay ourselves down upon the friendly rocks, and slept in full security, until the boatmen awoke us, which, they told us afterwards, they reluctantly did, having never seen persons in their lives before enjoy so truly what they thought so little of. "True," was my reply; "you have never been captives,

though you have made several." Here under a stone the master found a letter, which obliged him immediately on my waking, for us to go up with him and his companions to their head quarters, some few miles amongst the hills: we went with them and were blindfolded when we came to two roads, and, being sworn to secresy, I shall leave out of my narrative the days I was with them.

On our return to the boat, which we found as we left her safe amongst the rocks, the breeze was light but favourable as we passed along the shore. I found great pleasure in pointing out all the different head lands to my companion, who about ten o'clock resumed his place on the bottom boards of the boat; he slept soundly, but a clear moonlight kept me in a state of intoxicative trance and awake till morning, but before sun-rise I laid myself down upon the bottom boards of the boat, musing as to the best way of conveying my intelligence to our Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. A little before sun-set we were conveyed under the lighthouse of Genoa, when rowing to the pratique officer, got pratique, and we disembarked. My companion left me, but would see me the next morning.

Now comes an occurrence, which ever since it happened shows me how erroneously prone men are to judge of each other by their outward clothing. On landing I went to the hotel I had frequently before been at, where upon entering I requested the waiter to show me a room; he stared at me, and with a sneer told me that house was not a house for such a person as me; upon which, recollecting my dress, I passed him and made way to the bar, and addressing myself to the mistress of the house, told her of my having formerly frequented the hotel, and requested her to order me a room; but she, like the waiter, said there were houses that would suit people like me better. Indignant at this treatment I left the inn, and the boatmen led the way to the one they frequented, where I got something to eat and went to bed.

My next business in the forenoon was to wait upon the English Consul; he was not at home, so after

settling with the boatmen, and taking an affectionate leave of my companion, I went again to the English Consul, Mr. Brame, whom I knew when I formerly was on the Mediterranean station, and from him learnt that an English sloop-of-war was in the port, and would sail next morning for Corsica to join the fleet, and if I would dine with him he would introduce me to the Captain. My treatment at the inn determined me upon giving the woman a lesson as to her humanity, and as these people's feelings are in their pockets, I went there, and being in my uniform as a lieutenant of the navy, I requested the waiter to show me into a room, and send the mistress of the house to me ; she came, and making myself known to her, remarked how unkind and unfeeling her conduct had been the evening before, and at dinner to-day at the Consul's I should relate the circumstance. She began to apologize, and lessened herself by grovelling excuses. I then left her and her house.

At the Consul's I met the Captain of the sloop-of-war, who was so good as to offer me a passage to Corsica, which I accepted, and on arriving there I found the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Hotham, laying with the fleet in St. Frienza [S. Fiorenzo] Bay, the former Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hood, having quitted that station since my capture. On going on board the flag ship, I reported myself, and was congratulated by the Admiral, Captain, and officers, upon my escape, and the manner in which I had conducted it ; the Admiral invited me to dinner next day, and my brother officers of the ward room took care of me below. The following morning the Admiral sent for me into the cabin, and wishing me again joy, told me that as I had perhaps circumstances to relate, which I might have considered prudent to withhold yesterday until alone with him, I was at liberty to mention all now ; upon which I related all I knew.

He then requested me to give freely my opinion upon the whole of my information ; I did so, and upon relating to him the circumstances of the English merchant ship's company being shot in cold blood on board the French frigate, he told me that he was well acquainted

with all about it, the name of the frigate and her captain, and a note had been made of the infamous transaction; he likewise told me that it had been reported that I and some other of the officers had been shot, but that not having come in a direct way he always had a doubt upon it, and was very glad to find it was not so, "for," says he, "you were taken at a very unfavourable moment, and had to bear all the first animosity of Republican enmity."

The Admiral next asked me what my intentions were with respect to myself, whether to return to England or stay there; if the latter, at that moment he had no vacancy to place me in, but that he would find a ship for me as soon as he could. I thanked the Admiral, and said, with his permission, I would go to England; this he gave me, recommending me to make a good circumbendibus, as the French were making rapid strides upon the continent. In consequence of my information, the Admiral that same evening made the signal for the fleet to prepare for sea, and the blue peter was kept flying.

Now it was that I first heard of the *Ardent* of 64 guns having been lost, and all on board perished; this came to light by some of her floating timbers having been picked up, which had all the appearance of having been burnt, so that I suppose she must have caught fire the night we left her at anchor off Cape Noley, and what we had taken for thunder were probably her guns going off.

As a dispatch cutter was going in a day or two from Bastia to Leghorn, the Admiral gave me a letter to deliver in England, and wishing me a good journey, I left the ship. Notwithstanding the information given me, of the Corsicans being adverse to the English, and their being such good marksmen (that if you had a good hat on they would shoot you through the body, and if a good coat on through the head, unless you went in groups over the mountains from St. Frienza to Bastia) I did however cross the mountains alone with only my side-arms, but certainly I kept a good look out, and only saw one man upon the rocks as I went along, and as I heard the report of a musket I fancied he had

been shooting wild goats, for I heard no whiz of a ball past me.

The road is dreary in the extreme over the high and rocky mountains, but I got safe to Bastia at my ease before the evening set in, where I found a cutter that would sail in a day or two for Leghorn. The town retained the marks of our siege, with the appearance of poverty and wretchedness, and very little else to see.

On my arrival at Leghorn, I found letters from my father, wherein he observed that if it was convenient to me, an uncle of mine, the Bishop of Laibach, would be very glad to see me. This was certainly a favourable moment to have made him a visit, and become personally known to him, as well as my other relatives on my father's side, but as I found an English messenger, a Mr. Shaw, at Leghorn, that expected daily dispatches from the fleet to England, I engaged myself to go with him, as it was war time. The carnival had just commenced at Leghorn, and I wanted to enter the recreative throng, which I did, in the mask and dress of a traveller, having two bags filled with sugar plums in my hand, when gliding into the current of mirth, I observed a very high car drawn by four horses, filled with ladies, and high above all one lady, more beautiful than the rest, seated alone, tastefully dressed, enjoying the bustle below. I kept by the side of this car, and the fair one observing my admiration, threw a few sugar plums at me ; this encouraging my fanciful brain, I kept hovering about the car in hopes of further encouragement, but the lady taking no further notice of my juvenile gambols, I threw some sugar plums into her lap ; this was again returned by the lady, but as I did not understand carnival language, I kept throwing sugar plums into her lap pretty often. A mask, lightly dressed and on foot by the side of the car, supported by three or four others, returned me the compliment I was paying the lady, and sugar plums rattled against my mask, which I returned with some force, and a battle of sugar plums commenced ; in a little time I drove my antagonist out of the course, when, to my great astonishment, I found myself assailed by three other masks on foot, as well as vollies from the

car. Finding myself thus rudely handled, I placed my back against the wall, and a regular set-to followed.

My small sugar plums were soon exhausted, and I began to deal about my large ones, which made the assailants keep a little more distant, so that I had a little time to gain breath, but their plums were so sharp, and followed in such quick succession, that I was forced to retreat by gliding along the walls of the houses, until I came to a corner, which I turned, and left this stream of amusement. Had it not been for my large plums, which were as big as nuts, I should not have been able to have accomplished this retreat without a complete surrender. The car, however, moved onward, and I wisely returned to the inn, and wanting the messenger to return with me and keep up the gallantry of the English, he observed he was a married man, and had no relish for such gallant amusements ; so changing my dress, and replenishing my exhausted bags of sugar plums, I returned to the scene, and soon came alongside the car.

The street was now so crowded that the line of carriages could scarcely move, and the lady, although she saw me, did not show the least signs of it, until a battle of sugar plums drew the attention of all another way ; she then gave me a glance, accompanied with a few sugar plums, and by a motion of her hand seemed anxious for me to keep out of the way. I did so, and when at some distance, observed her turn her head to see, I thought, which way I went. I returned home, and changing my dress, mixed again with the crowd, and seeing the car at a distance turn to the right across the square, I followed it as fast as I could, but from the difficulty of getting along, I was not in time to observe the direction it took afterwards, and so lost sight of the fair lady for whom I had fought a battle of sugar plums. In a day or two after I set off for Florence, and being known to the English Minister at that court, the Hon. William Wyndham, I found myself a welcome guest at his hotel for the couple of weeks I stayed there, where generally of an evening assembled Lord Holland, Sir Godfrey Webster, Lady Webster, Lord Wycombe, and others, whose names I do not now recollect.

The dispatches of the Minister being ready, I set off with the messenger in a small Italian cabriolet, on my way to England. It had been snowing all day, and about nine at night, about two posts from Florence, the postilion said the snow had so drifted he could not get on without more horses; so he took the two he had off the carriage, and leaving us, went with them for more. My companion and me made the carriage as comfortable as we could, and settled for sleep. At daylight in the morning we were awoke by the postilion, who came with the two and two more horses. We found we had slept soundly, notwithstanding the snow had gained easy entrance between the leather fronts of the carriage that closed the vehicle, and now our business was to get it out, for we were encased with it up to our chins. For the first hour the postilion could only creep a foot-pace, but in the course of two or three hours, the snow leaving off, the sky became clear, and our lost time was made up. We passed through Bologna, Modena, Mantua, Inspruck, Munich, Frankfort, Cassel, and Hanover, keeping on day and night, seldom alighting, except to take coffee; dinner was generally such cold meat as we could procure, which we ate in the carriage. All through the Tyrol the postilions drove very well, but when we got into the north of Germany the roads became so heavy that once we had four horses, six oxen, and twenty men to keep the carriage upright, while drawn only six miles.

On arriving at Cuxhaven, we secured our passage on board a packet that would sail to England as soon as the ice broke up. Here a person wanted me to pay ten shillings for a pass and permission to be received on board the packet to England. Now as this could not be a legal demand upon a natural born subject, I would not in this case pay, and much less tacitly agree to such an imposition, being an officer, a lieutenant in the navy, returning to his own country after imprisonment by its enemies. Notwithstanding these reasonable objections, the improper observations this person made use of at the loss of the ten shillings did no credit to his employers, and his conduct was viewed with disgust

by the messenger and the people of the packet, and all who heard of the circumstance. Laying here was a small squadron, under Commodore Paine, waiting for the Princess of Wales, who was expected there daily to go to England, but the ice was so thick and came down in such quantities, that the shipping had great difficulty in keeping their anchors; at last it broke sufficiently for the packet to sail, and we had a beating passage to Harwich. From hence I went to London, where I found my parents in good health and glad to see me. I reported myself instantly to the Admiralty, and delivered the Admiral's letter; and in a few days afterwards, what with the fatigue of travelling day and night across the continent in a severe winter, seldom eating except in the carriage, and never in bed, I fell ill, and was in danger for some time.

SIXTH VOYAGE

ON my recovery I applied for employment, and in a few days received an appointment as first lieutenant of a 36-gun frigate, lying at Spithead. Upon my going on board the Captain told me he would certainly read my commission if I wished it, but that his first lieutenant had been sent to the hospital, and he should write to get him back, and hoped I would defer my commission [1] being read until the return of post. To this request I not only agreed, but wrote likewise to the Admiralty, observing that if it was not inconsistent with the rules of service, I would defer my commission being read until the return of post, and I waited their Lordships' further orders. Return of post brought an answer that I was to remain at Portsmouth, and another appointment would be sent to me. I waited a week, after which I went to town, and in a few days was offered the command of a gun boat. This not being in the direct line of my profession, I begged to decline such a command, and soon afterwards was appointed first lieutenant of a 32-gun frigate, named the *Fox*. I went down to the Nore where she lay, and was there informed by her Captain (Pulteney Malcolm) that his first lieutenant had gone to the hospital, and was expected to return, and he hoped I would defer reading my commission for a few days. This appeared odd and hard upon me, so I observed that if I submitted in this way I might go from ship to ship to no purpose ; therefore I gave my commission to be read, and took upon me my charge. The Captain going on Admiralty leave, left me to fit out the ship and complete her. He was no sooner gone, than complaint after complaint of the

[1] The reading of his commission confirmed an officer in his appointment : once he was "read in," he could only be discharged by sentence of court-martial.

officers one of another followed; this to a person on first joining a ship is very disagreeable, therefore, to cut the matter short, I told them I should follow strictly the rules of service. I did so: one officer fell sick, and then another, which I sent to the hospital, and none but myself remained to do duty, until others were appointed. When the ship was ready for sea the Captain returned, and she was ordered to Yarmouth roads, where she remained some days.

Having occasion for some money, I drew upon my agent, but by return of post received a letter from him, saying he had been dragged from his business, and how sorry he was to find by his books I was so large a creditor, but that if I would continue his brother as my agent my loss would be reimbursed, as he had large sums locked up out of the line of his agency business more than sufficient to answer his debts. Knowing enough of the world not to give ear to this rodomontade, I appointed another agent. This failure was a serious loss to me, as I found soon afterwards that this honest agent had refused all my foreign bills, which I had drawn upon him when abroad in the Mediterranean station, notwithstanding he had money of mine in his hands, and as I knew nothing of this trick, and of his having got all the money he could of mine, as well as receiving one hundred pounds put into his hands on my account but a few days before his failure by my father, it was now too late to do any thing but suffer patiently, as I had foolishly and unthinkingly, sailor-like, not asked him for my accounts on my arrival in England. I was young and thoughtless, so that this was a good practical lesson for my future conduct in money affairs.

From Yarmouth roads we proceeded to Leith, and during our stay there I made excursions to Edinburgh and about, for my Captain wishing to absent himself for some time to visit his friends, I remained on the spot. Lord Haddington sent for me to come and see him, but the Captain's absence precluded my so doing. On the Captain's return, the frigate sailed to the Shetland Islands, and anchored opposite the town of Lerwick, in a nice safe bite, and we were very comfortable

NAPOLEON ON BOARD H.M.S. *BELLEROPHON* IN PLYMOUTH SOUND
(From E. Goodall's engraving of the painting by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.)

during our stay. Oatmeal was very scarce here, and the inhabitants came far and near to exchange fowls and eggs for what oatmeal the ship's company could spare of their allowance. From the ship I made excursions with my brother officers about the island on Shetland ponies ; at first, finding them so small, we were reluctant to bestride such pigmies, though we found them fully capable of carrying us nimbly ; some of my companions' feet trailed on the ground, but these pigmies seemed to jump like goats from rock to rock as we went over the island, (which in fact is nothing more than a jumble of rocks), indeed it was laughable to see them and their riders ; scarce a shrub or tree is to be seen, and when you do see one it seldom or ever reaches three feet above ground, and except at Lerwick, where you land, none are seen, and there only about sixteen trees, being of small stature—none of these sixteen being above twenty feet high. The island is a bleak and barren rock, and may be said to represent a true picture of desolation.

From Shetland we returned again to Yarmouth roads, and being part of the fleet under Admiral Duncan, were continually cruising in the North Sea, blockading the Dutch fleet in the Texel. Some ships belonging to Russia used to cruise with us, but when it came on to blow they always bore up for Yarmouth roads : this we used to term making sailors for the Russian empire.

We had been blockading the Dutch fleet through a long winter, and for seven weeks running had neither seen the sun or the Dutch coast, always going by soundings, for it was mostly a continual fog and blowing hard, and as to the Russian ships they kept in port ; at last, however, one fine frosty starry night, with a fresh of wind from the south-east, one of our in-shore frigates gave notice of some movement of the Dutch fleet ; our fleet was soon in order of battle, either to receive or attack, but when morning came, no Dutch fleet was to be seen, the birds had flown, having evaded us under cover of the night and a strong breeze. Our light vessels were detached different ways, and the one I was in sailed to the Nore, there to refit for foreign

service ; and when ready she sailed for Spithead, from whence, with a large convoy of outward-bound Indiamen, we sailed down channel in company with three or four line-of-battle ships, which on arriving in a certain latitude and longitude, resigned the sole command to the Captain of the frigate I was in, and we, with these East Indiamen, prosecuted our voyage, intending to navigate by the eastern passage as far as possible, that being considered by the Captains of the Indiamen and frigate less liable to calms, than the usual one of crossing the line about 25° west longitude.

So we ran close to the eastward of Madeira, and through the Canaries, close round to the westward of St. Antonio, and then hugged Cape Palma, into the Gulph of Guinea as far as two degrees west longitude ; here the wind prevented us getting more to the eastward, so we crossed the line upon the larboard tack between the fifth and sixth degrees of west longitude, when all the usual ceremonies of Neptune's coming on board were attended to, and the Captain became acquainted with his godship ; as to myself, he recollected me of old and was very glad to see me again. We stretched close to the island of Ascension, and as far as twenty-one west longitude and 25° south latitude before the wind became favourable for changing our course towards the Cape of Good Hope, but when it came it blew a strong and steady breeze until our arrival. When there we found the Dutch fleet, which had eluded the vigilance of Lord Duncan when we were blockading the Texel, having, by going north about England, gained this settlement, and had all been captured by Lord Keith some time before our arrival, and most of them had been sent to England. During our passage here, we had scarcely any calm weather, a thing very prevalent when ships make the western passage, nor was the passage longer in performing, so that this passage is more healthy than the other, having no calms.

On leaving England, I had understood that upon my arrival at the Cape I should be promoted to the rank of commander, and felt rather disappointed, but as I brought out a recommendatory letter to the Commander-

in-Chief, I begged the Admiral to appoint me to a ship coming home; he did so, and I became first lieutenant to one of the Dutch line-of-battle ships that had been captured, and in a few days we were to sail for the island of St. Helena, there to wait for the homeward-bount East Indiamen, which were to rendezvous there by a certain time. A detachment of invalids of the troops from India and the Cape were sent on board, so that all our crew consisted of about 470 men.

As the table land getting capped indicated strong gales, it began to blow so hard from the east, that it was with difficulty we could purchase our anchors; we did, however, and the gale favoured us to the latitude of St. Helena, where it fell calm, when the usual amusements were resorted to, such as baiting our shark hooks with pieces of salt pork, and we were rewarded, one being caught about 13 feet long and as a description of catching and cooking up these animals may not be uninteresting to those who do not know the pleasure of a fresh meal at sea I shall briefly give an idea of it. When a shark is caught, it becomes the nominal property of him whose hook the shark preferred, and as soon as the animal is dragged on deck and into the waist, the sailors, after knocking its tail with a handspike or hatchet to disable it from doing them mischief, as many of them as can bestride the poor fish do so, and begin to cut the piece off they sit upon as large as possible, each warning the men sitting behind to mind what he is about. A bystander would suppose in their eagerness they could not avoid cutting each others rumps, as each shoves himself as far backwards as he can to enlarge his slice, while the man behind reminding the one before him, not to keep so far back, and all of them cutting away as fast as possible, and as each cuts only before him the first and last men generally get the largest slices. In this way the poor fish is in about three or four minutes severed into as many slices as there are men bestriding it. The flesh of the shark, from eight to thirteen feet long, is good eating, but when larger it is rather strong. The sailors generally cut it into slices about the size of a good beef steak, then par boil it, and when cold broil

it, salted and peppered, with a slice of butter rubbed upon it while hot. This mode of dressing makes it eat well, and as it is in fact a fresh meal at sea, it is a thing by no means to be scouted.

To my taste the flesh of the shark flavours of cod fish more than any other, its flesh flakes as that does, is white and delicate to look upon. The man who owns the hook the shark preferred, has, in addition to his slice, the head. This is not eaten, but in it is a hard substance that they like to possess themselves of, for what purpose I do not know. This seems to be the only remuneration for the risk they run in loosing the bait off their hook the animal was caught with.

The weather became calm and hazy, the ship was hove to after midnight, lest she should get to leeward of the island, but about noon the next day, we heard the roaring of the surf, and as the haziness cleared off we soon after saw the land about three miles distant to leeward, and the ship in a little time was brought to anchor in the roadsted off St. James's town. This town lays scattered on each side of a pretty valley, that inclines down from the centre of the island towards the sea, widening as it approaches the shore, where it extends into a flat of about one mile ; here the garrison parade, and it makes an agreeable walk for the inhabitants, and when ships come in the Governor gives a ball, suppers, &c., which makes the island very lively. The island, although by several called a barren rock, cannot properly be considered so, for in many places it is wooded and green, and though the culture does not produce the necessaries of life sufficiently to supply its garrison, the sea lashes its shores, and that element is an excellent high road, and supplies can be had to make up for its deficiencies of fertilization, as well as for stores for shipping that may touch at it ; the view from its heights toward the other side of the island is wild and romantic, and as I had little to occupy me until the convoy should arrive, I made daily excursions to shoot wild pigeons amongst the rocks, for here they nest and are found in abundance, as they build in the interstices of the cliffs, that rise perpendicular from the

sea on this side the island quite inaccessible to man. The summit point of the rocks near where they breed are quite white from the reflux of their nourishment, so that their haunts are indicated by this white appearance at a great distance, and when a boat is rowed into the coves below them, the pigeons fly out of their holes in the rocks in such numbers as to darken the air and cast quite a cloud over you, and each time these clouds are shot at several fall. It was upon one of these excursions that I witnessed the anxious affection of these animals towards each other.

Upon landing upon one of those flats of rock that surround this island, extending from the base of the island in many parts into the sea, from four to five hundred yards from its base, which is about three feet above the surface of the sea, (this extent of flat rocks nature seems to have placed as a guard, to break the surf and prevent the island being worn away by the continual action and washing of the wave), a flight of pigeons crossed me, I fired and one fell about twenty feet from me ; two of the flock kept hovering over the one I had shot, seeming by the mournful noise they made to lament their comrade ; I fired again, and killed one of the two, it fell close to the other ; the surviving bird kept flying close to the ground round and round the two dead ones making the same mournful noise : stung at being the thoughtless author of its grief, I determined to end its misery, so firing again, this bird fell close to the other two, all of them within the circumference of a yard. Upon examination they appeared to be two old birds and a young one. From that time I left off shooting and disturbing the haunts of these birds ; they are in general so attached to their haunts that a determined shooter might soon destroy the whole colony. I had left the boat I came in, and having landed on the reef or rock, had sent the boat and crew to shoot pigeons at their haunts ; those that flew past me, were some that had been disturbed.

The Indiamen being assembled, we proceeded with the convoy towards England, and within the tropics the weather was in general calm. When upon the poop

one day with the officers, observing some dolphins astern basking in the sun, a harpoon was thrown at them, the instant it touched the water they darted forward across the quarter of the ship, and although we turned our heads as quick as possible the way they darted off, yet we could only perceive the gleam of their colour reflected upon the surface of the water as they disappeared; the distance they swam could not be less than one hundred and sixty feet, and this in less than two seconds of time. Observing afterwards the water discoloured about some bottles of wine that was hanging over the quarter in bags to cool, which by the gentle rising of the ship, lifted them to the cool air that drew round her counter, we pulled them up, and found the dolphins had broken two of them, they having darted off in that direction when alarmed by the harpoon touching the water over them. When the velocity with which this fish swims is considered, it is no wonder the flying fish, as they tip the wave to wet their wings in the continuance of their flight from the dolphin, become so easily the prey of that fish.

A few days after leaving St. Helena, the Captain who had been ailing some time, gave up the management of the ship to me. For some days a long ground swell from the south had risen without a breath of wind to cause it, increasing so exceedingly in a week that it became to me an object of curiosity to ascertain the distance of the summit of one wave from the summit of its following wave, therefore I went with my quadrant and the boat's crew into the boat upon the quarter [1]; we were lowered down into the water, when getting away as fast as possible from under the roll of the ship, for she rolled very heavy, we rowed right from her astern; as the boat sank into the hollow of the sea the ship began to disappear, and in a few seconds became invisible; then again as she rose we became visible to each other by little and little, when at the distance of a wave from the ship, she being upon the summit of the next, I took the angle of her mast-head

[1] Carrying boats on the quarters was newly introduced into the Navy at this time, imitated apparently from the whale-ships.

to the line of flotation, and then returned on board, and found, upon working the triangle, that the distance of the summit of the waves we were on was more than one mile and a half from the summit of the next that bore the ship. Had I deferred this until the next day it would have been hazardous to have attempted letting a boat down, the sea having increased so much and the ship rolling so deep, consequently the summits were further asunder.

In three or four days after this the sea began a little to abate, a sure sign that the gale which had given rise to this swell was either approaching or had ceased, and in the course of the afternoon the rippling of the water on the horizon here and there convinced us we should have it ere long; I therefore made every preparation for its approach, by having all the cannon on the lower and upper decks looked well to, and every thing made snug and secure all over the ship, studding sail booms off the yards, top gallant masts and yards stowed upon the booms; and it was well I did, for the gale about two hours before sun-set came up with us, just to fill our sails, increasing regularly, and in the course of four hours brought us under double-reefed top sails.

The Indiamen, as is generally the case in calms, get scattered, and the consequence is that a man-of-war is often obliged to carry very easy sail when a breeze comes on, to allow them time to resume their stations: this was our case, but by morning all the Indiamen were in sight and in their stations. The gale had, however, increased so that the Indiamen were reduced to the foresail, and a heavy sea following us, we were obliged to furl all our sails except the foresail, which was clued up every now and then lest we should run them out of sight; this was very unpleasant, as we had hardly way sufficient to prevent the action of the sea on the ship, which every now and then threatened to poop us. In this uncomfortable way we had been going some days, and one night, after I had gone to bed and just fell asleep, I was awoke by a tremendous crash, and found myself laying in my cot, completely soaked, close to the main mast upon the main deck, with the water washing

from side to side from the rolling of the ship; all was confusion—not a light to be seen. I got out of my cot as well as I could, and found that the ship had been pooped, and that the sea had stove in all the dead lights, making a clear sweep of all the officers' cabins in the wardroom, as well as tables, chairs, wardroom bulkhead, and all else that stood in its way, and what was worse than all, carried away the tiller short off by the rudder head; the foresail was then set, and the ship kept the sea on the quarter; an iron tiller was then shipped, but immediately the relieving tackle [1] bore a strain, it snapped into three pieces, and one of these wounded me severely on the shin. It was some time before another wooden tiller could be got into its place, and during this time the rudder received some very severe strokes from the sea, which made me uneasy for the stern post. At last our difficulties were surmounted, and the ship became manageable, the pumps were set going, and the water got out, but after this accident it became absolutely necessary for us to carry a little more sail to secure us from another pooping.

When morning came, two of the convoy only could be perceived, and they far astern; the sea wore an awful appearance, and I verily believe had not the ship steered herself so very well under the foresail after the accident of the tiller, the consequences might have been serious. The gale carried us near the Scilly Islands, and the wind chopped round to the east and blew very strong. As we were beating under courses and close-reefed main top sail one dark night, about half-past nine, a light was seen at a little distance, but immediately we showed our's, it was withdrawn, and though a good look out was kept, nothing was perceptible; we fired a gun, and by the flash a ship was discovered a little before our beam to leeward, under a press of sail; we immediately bore a little up, and gave chase, but when morning came the horizon was clear, so we hauled to the wind again, and the gale abating we set more sail.

In the course of the forenoon, a fleet of ships under

[1] Tackles carried from the end of the tiller to the ship's side, serving either to assist the wheel, or as a substitute for it.

a press of canvass, came towards us ; by their signals they were the Channel fleet, under Lord Bridport, in pursuit of the French fleet that were at sea, so it was evident the ship that had shown a light was one of the enemy's ships, and as we were standing the same way she had probably supposed us to be one of her consorts, but upon our light being shown, finding her mistake, she got away. The next day the easterly gale came on again, and we were reduced to our foresail and mizen, and mizen stay sails, and by our reckoning close in with Scilly, which, from the chopping about of the wind, we had not got clear of. The weather was quite thick and foggy, and from the forecastle, land on the lee-bow being called out, we were under the necessity to set the main sail to keep clear of the rocks, and it blew so strong as to require two hundred men to get the main sheet aft : had any accident happened to the sail as I set it, the ship would most likely have been forced upon the rocks ; this was a trying and serious time for about half an hour ; when clear of them we took in the main-sail, the ship being much pressed.

In a day or two afterwards the wind became moderate, and blew from the south-west, which carried us up to the Nore, and being ordered into Sheerness harbour, the ship was dismantled, and ordered to be paid off ; but when ready, counter orders came for her to be refitted under jury masts, and proceed up the Thames to Woolwich ; we beat up all the way, and as it was moonlight, worked night tides as well as day ; on our arrival the Captain, who had been ill, and in his bed from St. Helena to England, left the ship on leave, and I got the ship dismantled.

The fleet at the Nore was soon after this in a state of mutiny, and this infatuation had seized the crew of the *Lancaster*, a line-of-battle ship, laying at Long Reach. The approximity of this ship kept me in continual alarm, lest some delegates from her should pay us a visit ; however by various ways and means, I continued to defeat every attempt of our men from breaking out into open mutiny, and to frustrate the reception of the *Lancaster* delegates arriving, and the little duty there was

to do, was done without coercive means. When the mutiny was got rid of, the ship was taken into dock, examined and fitted for a store ship, her complement was reduced, and a commander appointed to supersede her present Captain.

As I had always been a zealous officer, it was certainly an unpleasant thing to see the second lieutenant promoted over my head, for he was made commander, and quitted the ship. This, with various rebuffs I had met with in the service, determined me on quitting it; therefore I wrote a letter to the first Lord of the Admiralty requesting my discharge from the service altogether. To this letter I received an answer that my request could not be complied with. The ship was now advancing in her fitting, and I found employment enough, but the Captain of her was seldom on board, and when he did come he was in such a continual state of intoxication as really to give me and every one else disgust, and I was determined not to go to sea in her with him, but as I was promoted to the rank of Commander [1] some short time after, I quitted the ship, and leaving her in charge of the second lieutenant, went to town, and paid my respects to the first Lord of the Admiralty.

[1] On 21st September, 1797.

SEVENTH VOYAGE

IN a large metropolitan city, those who would view the walks of man find every facility if they choose to enter the numerous sinks and haunts of the rogues and debased, for their doors are open, and although painful sensations arise at the disgusting sights which present themselves on a near view of man, when bereft of those comforts that excite and stimulate him to meritorious actions, still there is no other way of convincement than diving into these haunts, where he is seen callous to the incumbrance of appearances, and where he will be found inferior to brutes. In these various haunts of the debased they well know a stranger when he enters, and although they do not show signs of it, still a degree of conformity is necessary while there, to prevent your being an immediate check upon them, as well as your losing the advantage of your research, and perhaps being ousted into the bargain. My desire of knowledge and wish to be intimate with the habits of mankind, led me to search him every where, and experience and observation has shown me that there is in all classes much to be avoided and passed over.

I shall now state a small circumstance that occurred in one of the higher circles. Many of the principal emigrants from France were of the party, and after dinner, when taking coffee, the evening paper detailed an account of the English and French fleets having had an engagement, the former under the command of Sir Robert Calder,[1] and that two of the French line-of-battle ships had been captured. A variety of opinions were immediately started, whether or not this could be considered a victory, and as no sea officer was present but

[1] It is remarkable that he should have forgotten that Calder's action, of 22nd July, 1805, was with the combined squadron, and that the ships captured were Spanish.

myself, the company, of which the Duke of Orleans and his two brothers were the head, with several of the French noblesse, they all of one accord requested to know my opinion, and the question as follows was put to me by the principal person in rank of the emigrants : " Captain, you do not consider this a naval victory where only two ships of the line are captured ; what say you ? " " As to that," said I, " yourself shall be the judge " ; (hear, hear) attention followed. " Suppose two armies fought, and one of them for instance, the French, took two regiments, cannon, colours, and all from the other ; would you, as the General of the French army, consider it a victory or not ? " The enquirer and the company said not a word more, all left me, and went to their parties of whist, nor was the subject afterwards mentioned the whole of the evening.

Another time in company with many of the same persons, it was in conversation observed, that England had not only received the emigrants, but did likewise supply them with the means to procure more than the necessaries of life ; no affirmation was answered, though it was observed by the emigrants, " that France had done so formerly to the English," thereby evading any acknowledgement as to the merit due to England, a country one may say always forward in ameliorating the misfortunes of mankind. The French are certainly the most chivalrous nation under the sun, and although myself when their prisoner of war was really cruelly treated, it does not take away from their chivalry as a nation, which I always have, and shall always admire.

Having now arrived at a certain rank in my profession I was determined to employ my inaplicative moments in reperusing my early theoretical studies, and by comparing them with the general practice of my profession to establish a mean for my own observance, whereby to regulate my future decisions. This led me into the society of men much older than myself, from whom I certainly gained much useful knowledge ; in this I was constant until appointed to the command of a sloop-of-war fitting at Deptford. Her name was the *Hermes*, originally a merchant vessel, taken into the service and

armed with sixteen 32 pounders carronades in the between decks, and two 12 pounders carronades on the quarter deck, with neither boatswain, gunner, carpenter, or purser, to all of whose duties I had to attend, so that I had wherewithal to employ my time, and a great deal to learn. In a little while she was ready, but no men were to be had; however she was ordered to Long Reach to take in her ordnance stores: the cannon were got in, and when the shot came alongside, I desired some of them might be taken indiscriminately and tried in the guns to see if they fitted the bore; this was done, and they were found too large, so I sent them back, and was supplied with others.

Now what a pretty condition I should have been in had I met an enemy at sea, and had not fortunately looked to this, a thing I believe few others would have thought of, as taking it for granted all would have been found right when wanted to be made use of. For this prevoyance I have to thank my early schooling and self-observation in my profession; the case of the capstan bars on board his Majesty's ship *Vestal* here presenting itself to me, as on all occasions it had done when receiving of sea stores. At this anchorage the ship remained some time, and it being a severe winter the Thames was frozen as far as the Nore: where I lay the vessels were put to some inconvenience for want of water, occasioned by their own ignorance. They used when the ice permitted to send on board my ship to get a hogshead of water; my answer was, take the ice from alongside and melt it, it will become the best of water: their general reply was, "Dear me, we thought it was salt here." I used it always on board, and found it good; besides it saved Government the expense of victualling hoys to supply us. As my ship had all the outward cut of a merchantman, being originally built for a collier, and although taken into the service, still she retained her primitive air of the packhorse.

The trading vessels which floated up and down the river very frequently (though we were moored as close to the shore as possible to be out of their full stream) much annoyed us: these sapient couriers of commerce from

carelessness often, very often, suffered themselves to drop right athwart our hawse, from where they could not get until the turn of the tide; this happened so continually that I was determined that his Majesty should gain some advantage for his cables being rubbed by their broad bottoms, therefore, just before slack water, one of my boats went round and lay upon her oars, while we pressed two or three of their men, accordingly as the vessels were outward or homeward bound. This had the desired effect, as it soon got wind, and the ships kept a good look out afterwards, making use of small kedge anchors to bring them up and give them a sheer clear of us when near our hawse.

By this I got my ship manned sufficiently to proceed to the Nore, from where I was ordered to take the convoy to Elsinore, and with a large cutter to strengthen it. I sailed after dark, with nearly one hundred sail, with the wind dead an end; we tided it down the Swin to Orford Ness; here it came on to blow hard, and I anchored for two days, when the wind moderating we sailed through Yarmouth roads, keeping convoy signal flying, and being joined by more ships the convoy was increased to one hundred and forty sail. When we got well into the North Sea, it fell calm and foggy, so the trawl was let down for the watch; it now and then yielded a dish of fish or so, and the oysters it brought up were excellent. We heard guns frequently, and I sent the cutter out on that bearing, but never out of sight, being with convoy, and as I always kept them together none of the privateers, which I understood afterwards had dogged us all the way, found an opportunity of snapping up any one of them, so that I arrived safe with them all in the roads of Elsinore.

A very laughable circumstance took place as we went between the points of land of Denmark and Norway, before you enter the road of Elsinore. The ship from some cause or other would not come head to wind, we having to beat through this part, and I was obliged to have the cutter to tow us into the roads. The current and light wind might perhaps have been a cause, but I think it was principally owing to the rudder not being

sufficiently broad for such a capacious bellied ship. Here the ship remained a week, waiting the assembling of the homeward-bound Baltic ships, and then I sailed with one hundred and seventy-five sail, with a foul wind, taking the cutter and two gun brigs, as I never lay in port after I got my orders, provided it did not overblow; after getting clear of the harbour, we kept beating two days, when it came on to blow hard, and a lumping sea running in the Cattagat, I made the signal for the convoy to put into the different creeks that were nearest them, with which this coast abounds; twenty-five sail went into one with me, the bottom was a clear sand, and the high surrounding hills were covered with fir trees; it might, as the sailors say, have blown cats and dogs, without the vessels straining a rope yarn in these snug coves. In two days the gale moderated, and the wind became fair, so a gun was fired as a signal for sailing; its report echoed along the coast backwards and forwards four times each way, and as we quitted our harbour the whole of the convoy were seen issuing from the different inlets as far as the eye could reach.

The wind continued fair, with a good top-gallant breeze, and though I had two North Sea pilots on board, I found it safest to follow my own reckoning, indeed had I adhered to them the whole of the convoy would have been on shore on Flamborough head. The weather was very foggy and blowing hard as we left the land, with the wind fair, the convoy going right before it; at five o'clock one afternoon I made the signal that the fleet should heave to on the starboard tack at midnight, which signal was repeated to the fleet by the cutter and gun brigs. At day-break next morning Flamborough head was scarcely six miles on our lee, so that had I run, as the pilot said I might, for twenty hours from the time I made the signal, the convoy would have been in a bad way. I now made the signal for such ships as were going to the northward to separate, and convoy to conduct them, taking those bound to Yarmouth with me.

As the day advanced the wind blew a strong gale, and long dark nights made me anxious to keep as close

in with the land as possible, to be out of the tide; the lead was kept continually going, when all of a sudden, between nine and ten at night, as dark as pitch, the leadsman cried out "no bottom," and the next cast the same, upon which I said to the pilot on deck, "Now I know exactly where I am." The pilot said that it could not be, as the leadman said "no bottom." I asked him by whose chart he navigated? "by Heather's," he replied; so desiring him to fetch it, I showed him by the binnacle light the silver pits marked in his chart. He now excused himself, saying he was wrong, and that he had never observed them before. Here was a regular North-sea pilot navigating by a chart which his laziness had never thoroughly examined with that care his situation demanded; a pretty sort of a pilot indeed; so I said as Cromwell did of Sir Harry Vane.

From Yarmouth roads the ship was ordered to the Nore; while there, one of those occurrences took place, from what is denominated an oversight. I had found (having charge of the purveyry) that the casks of spirits supplied the ship's company from the Victualling Office did not run the quantity marked upon the casks; therefore as they were emptied I had them re-measured by the measures that were supplied the ship from the Victualling Office, and it was found that almost all were deficient. This was done before the whole ship's company, and their deficiencies were marked in the log book, and signed by the officers. Now as this deficiency would on passing my accounts for the ship have brought me in debt, my personal pay would most likely have been stopped; I therefore wrote the case to the Navy Office, and was desired to send the casks to be examined. From my observations in my profession, I sent only a part of these casks, and received a very complimentary letter a few days after from the Commissioner, observing that my report was unfounded. Oh! oh! thinks I to myself, I am not quite so stupid as you suppose me; I therefore wrote, saying that having returned a part of the casks the rest were in my possession, and unless they made me creditor for the deficiency, I should by

H.M.S. *WOLVERINE*
(*From Charnock's "History of Marine Architecture,"* 1802)

return of post send a statement of the whole affair to the Admiralty. By the return of post their letter came, by which I found they had credited my account with double the deficiency.

Very soon after this I went with convoy to the Texel, and being eager to get there, as all was bustle, our army, under the command H. R. Highness the Duke of York, being in those parts. Immediately I got my orders, and had regulated the convoy I was to escort, I directed the masters of the merchant ships to get under weigh after sun-set, without any signal being made by me; the wind was dead an end, but light; they did so, and before morning we were out of sight of the Nore. Two other sloops-of-war had orders to sail for the Texel as well as myself, but as I was the junior Captain, I suppose the convoy fell to my lot; they did not sail when I did, so that I got there a week before them; when these two ships arrived in the Texel, their Captains told me, that the morning after I was gone a general signal had been made for us all not to sail until further orders, and as the wind was foul, no one supposed I would have put to sea, and particularly in the night. Upon my arrival in the Texel, I received orders to join Rear-Admiral Mitchel, who with the fleet was at anchor off Enkhuysen. The water up the Züyder Zee being very shoal the Dutch pilot would not take my ship over the banks until nearly all the water in the hold had been started, and then she stirred up the mud as she went over them, and had it not been that the wind blew strong very probably she would have stuck.

On my arrival in the fleet the Admiral was very glad to see me, and the first night my ship by signal was ordered further up, to get off one of the ships of the squadron which had got on shore and two nights after I was sent again to get another off; I was obliged to anchor my ship within twenty feet of the sand bank on my lee and blowing hard, to render assistance; I got the ships off however, and rejoined the fleet.

A retreat by our army from Holland commencing, the Admiral left Enkhuysen, leaving me the command of ten or eleven vessels, with directions to follow him after

such a lapse of time; this was all executed, and upon rejoining the fleet I was removed into another sloop-of-war by way of promotion, but I found the change for the worse, she being of the same packhorse kind, named the *Wolverine*. Immediately on joining, I was placed under a senior officer, with two more ships, sent on an expedition of coasting the Züyder Zee; we anchored off Harlingen, and set fire to a Dutch frigate, which burnt to the water's edge.

Whilst we lay here amongst the sands, several dead bodies of the men that were lost in the *Lutine*[1] (one of the frigates which I was at the taking of at Genoa) kept floating about at low water; I sent a boat and had them buried in the sand: on one of these occasions, for they occurred more than once, the lieutenant, a young man just promoted into my ship, took his fusee into the boat with him, intending I suppose to shoot sea-gulls; now as the ship only waited the turning of the tide to sail, I had requested him to make all possible haste. On the boat landing, in which he went to bury the men, near a mile and half from the ship, I saw through my glass the officer preparing to go and shoot sea-gulls at least a mile from where the dead men lay, therefore, to hasten his return, I had a long twenty-four pounder shotted, and pointing it a little wide of where the men were digging a hole for the bodies, I levelled it so as the shot would make ducks and drakes between them and the sea-gulls; in a little away ambles the lieutenant towards the sea-gulls, and bang went the gun, and away go the shot out of the gun, which, falling about eight or ten yards from him, he turned short round, and rejoining the burial party, came on board. This was a good lesson to the young man, and much better than finding fault, as I took no notice of the occurrence.

The frost unluckily set in very severe and prevented our sailing, and provisions began to get very scarce, as well as water; this obliged me to send sixteen of the prisoners I had on board on shore, reserving four: these four I had selected by the surgeon of the ship as the most healthy, that in case we should be frozen up

[1] Wrecked 9th October, 1799.

and the ship could not get away, they might become food for the ship's company, in preference to the ship's company eating one another, being determined not to surrender ourselves to the Dutch, and I bound the surgeon to keep the secret, which he did. The sixteen prisoners we sent on shore at night, which relieved us greatly, for at this time the allowance to each man was only a wine-glass full of flour and another of raw peas, and at this low rate our provisions could not hold out more than a fortnight. At last however the ice broke up and we got away, and joyfully setting sail, we beat through the Vlie passage, and I then hove to, and set the four Dutch prisoners free, and soon arrived in Yarmouth roads, where all our wants were supplied. Lord Duncan was still in command here, and I was kept upon this station some time, and having superintended the embarkation of some Russian troops, between two and three thousand men, much to his satisfaction, he was desirous to reward my zeal, and offered me a freight of money to the Texel as a return, but as I had reported my ship unfit for sea I could not consistently accept of his kindness, notwithstanding his wishes for me to lay aside my scruples and take it, but I declined the freight, which would have put a few pounds into my pocket.

My ship was ordered round to Sheerness, and when I waited upon Admiral Graham,[1] he joked me a good deal as being the only officer whom he ever knew that had put his orders so quickly into execution as not to give him time to counter order them. He was an excellent good man, had lost an arm in the service, and used to say to me, "Ah! my lad, I will keep a sharp look out how I give you any orders." My ship being dismantled, was taken into dock; my endeavours to forward her repairs were ineffectual, but at last accident did it for me. From the moment she went into dock, I gave directions that a daily account should be kept of the number of artificers employed on her and upon what, and perceiving that other ships that came into dock

[1] Vice-Admiral Alexander Græme became C.-in-C. at the Nore in June, 1799.

after mine were quickly fitted and sent away, I began to despair of getting to sea at all, but I used daily to go to the office to hasten her advancement.

One morning, by accident, the daily report book being open in the office with my ship's name, curiosity led me to glance my eye upon it, and how great was my surprise to find eight times the number of men were marked as employed on the repairs of the *Wolverine* more than actually was. Of this I took no notice until the returns of the week from the yard had been sent to the Navy Office, when finding things went on as before, I went to the Commissioner, and I found him conversing with the officers of the yard, and observed to him how slowly the *Wolverine* got on, though so large a body of men were employed about her, and that I thought he would be obliged to put the whole yard on if it was intended to get her out before the end of the year. The officers of the yard began to look at each other, and I then told them that unless my ship was set about in earnest, I would by that day's post inform the Admiralty of the erroneous returns made of the men employed on my ship, observing I thanked them for the useful knowledge (their knowledge) [1] had given me, and which some day or other I might profit from for the advantage of my country. That same day the repairs of my ship were seriously set about, and on the evening of the third day all made good; I however declined all offers of theirs to fit my cabin as I should wish, except to the bare regulations of the service; and in order to get rid of me, the ship was got out of dock that night by torch light, and having fitted all my rigging, &c. while in dock, she was soon atant, and I made sail for the Downs.

Upon arriving here I was attached to a squadron of frigates cruising off the coast of France, generally between Ostend and Etaples, where I had an opportunity of proving my sloop-of-war, as she was styled, and found her to the keel the packhorse she was originally built for; when it came on to blow, I was always obliged to keep the weather shore on board, and so unfit was she for the duties of a man-of-war, that

[1] The text certainly is corrupt.

Capt. Inman, the senior officer of the squadron, told me, " When it comes on to blow do the best you can to keep in smooth water." Accordingly I frequently was obliged to anchor close in on our own shore, from whence I could by day-break pounce upon smuggling vessels, or small French privateers that kept hovering to pick up our coasters as they ran along shore.

One morning, rather hazy, a large cutter stood in from sea, and tacking in shore came towards us ; we hoisted our colours and piped to breakfast ; she was English built, but her conduct as she approached became suspicious ; she did not hoist her colours, and her deck became crowded with men, I had a couple of the after guns and the marines ready ; when within hearing, she was hailed, but instead of answering, ran us aboard on the larboard quarter, carried away her bowsprit, swung, and dropped astern. To my hailing they made no answer ; I therefore told them if they did not instantly drop their anchor, I would fire and sink them, and just as I ordered the match to the gun, down went their anchor about a quarter of a mile astern ; the signal was immediately made for the lieutenant, who after some time came on board, making many apologies for his conduct, as he really took us for an enemy's ship, &c. &c. upon which I pointed to the pendant and ensign, and asked him if he had not understood English when hailed ; to this he could return no answer. My ship was, in consequence of having her quarter stove in by the concussion, obliged to return to the Downs, and the cutter likewise, to get a new bowsprit. The Admiral directed a Court of Inquiry, but not wishing to push the thing any further, no more notice was taken of the affair.

Soon after this I was ordered round to Spithead, and appointed to the command off La Hogue, and the Marcoeuf, from Cape Barfleur to Cape Caux, was my station. On this station little was to be done, but once I attacked two French sloops-of-war running along shore from Cherbourg to La Hogue, but the coast being well lined with batteries, they kept close in, and I could not venture to close with them ; I however drove the sternmost on shore in the evening, and as it was coming

on to blow hard from the E.N.E., with thick weather, I left her to her fate ; next morning not a vestige of her was visible, nor do I know what became of her.

Finding the ship totally unfit for the purpose of a man-of-war, I considered it best to go into port and resign her ; my anxiety of mind had been so great during the time I had been in this beast of a ship, styled a man-of-war, that I fell ill, and was really unfit for that exertion I considered my profession required of me. This ship had been a merchant vessel, bought into the service, fitted with carronades 24-pounders, with groves in the deck for the guidance of these guns from one porthole to the other, and as there were only guns enough to complete one side, every other porthole wanted a gun, so in case of action the guns were to be dragged from one side to the other ; there were likewise two long 24-pounders, fitted in the same odd way ; these were secured to the mainmast to be used in the bow or stern ports, and when wanted were likewise to be dragged through all these odd contrivances to the porthole. I had a trial, in order to see in how short a time one of these guns could be moved from the mainmast to the bow or after port and fired off ; with the men stationed to her the gun could not be got there, but with as many men as could work at her (twenty) she was got to the bow and fired off in forty minutes.

How the ship in action, with a sea going, would have been cut up during this time, and perhaps when the gun was got to one side, the bow or stern, it might be wanted on the other. Oh ! the wiseacres ! this vessel had her guns in the between decks, and amongst the many wise schemes in fitting this vessel, the scupper holes in the between decks, by which the water was to run off into the sea, were four inches below the water line, so that instead of water running out of them, the water ran into the ship ; these scupper holes were consequently obliged to be kept plugged up, and the water baled by buckets and thrown out at the portholes ; but worst of all, when at quarters, with men and guns ready for fighting, the ship had so much heel that the cells of the ports were no more than six inches from the water,

and the ship liable to swamp if fighting lee guns : this trial I made when at anchor, and I had all these good qualities noted as they arose in the log book, signed by the officers, and signing officers of the ship. My application for removal was admitted, and another commander appointed, and I came upon half-pay.

EIGHTH VOYAGE

THE Commander who superseded me only sailed as far as St. Helen's in this nonpareil, and then resigned her, preferring rather to go on half-pay than run the risk of disgrace, which this ship, so extolled by its contrivers, was liable to bring upon her commander. It was some time before any other commander could be found to take her, at last, as I have heard by report, some relation of the inventor was appointed to her, and sailing with a convoy was met by the enemy, and it was reported that the ship was sunk by the enemy while fighting, but from my knowledge of the vessel, I think that in attempting to fight, the ship sunk from the water running into her portholes. Many of my friends used to joke me, saying, as my observations had come true, that of course I rejoiced, but in this they were in error, as I can truly say I never rejoiced at the ill-luck that overtook any one, but on the contrary, and in this instance was sorry so whimsical a plaything should have found advocates for its being admitted into the service of one of the first maritime powers, thereby making a deserving class of men liable to the chance of censure. Would that the sapient inventors of these senseless incumbrances were made to prove their projects first, as Phalaris did Perillus, the inventor of the brazen bull.

Upon my return to town I paid my respects to the First Lord of the Admiralty, who told me other officers had reported the ship quite differently from what I had done, to which observation, with all becoming respect, I observed I had no doubt of it, but as the ship yet existed the truth was attainable, and that the ship's log book was at any time an authenticated document as to facts. Being again thrown out of professional employment, I continued in London, and began again to pursue such studies as might become hereafter useful; that of

surgery I had a *gôut* for, and when midshipman I was in attendance generally when the surgeon attended the sick, and now I took to reading books on surgery and medicine, frequently conversing with professors, who, as I was a non-practitioner, never refused to give me a full explanation of any question I proposed, and I found my gleanings sometimes of use to my friends, who would now and then ask me to come to them when they expected their apothecary, and when a disorder had not been rightly ascertained ; my suggestions have not unfrequently had effect.

About this time I married a good and sensible woman, and with her, at my parents' desire, came and resided with them in London ; and some short time after, by the interest of a friend of my father, the Earl of Romney, was appointed to the command of the Sea Fencibles at Maidstone, which body of men were intended as a protection in case the French (who it was supposed were making active preparations along the north coast of France) should invade England ; they consisted of all the seafaring men navigating the trade on the rivers and coast ways, so in case the French had paid us a visit, these men being in some kind of training might have been found of use. I was upon this service between four and five years, and upon the return of peace the whole of this body were disbanded.

As about this time my mother died, my father wished that myself and family, consisting of my wife and two infant daughters, should reside with him ; we accordingly took up our abode with him in London. Ever desirous of active employment in a profession to which I had been devoted from infancy and to which my whole study had tended, I began to yield under the pressure of being left inactive, and from an over-anxious mind fell ill, and as attacks of illness generally fix somewhere, this fell on the urethra ; a violent stricture resulted, and under the cure I was necessitated to wear a metalic catheter for days and nights together.

A short time after this, an acquaintance of mine offered me a house of his at the seaside, upon condition that I would not object to his regulations, which were

to have two courses of four and four served at my dinner daily. I yielded to his wish with regret, and went there, where I found a large house well furnished, a yacht to attend my commands, and all in excellent style. This was at Aldborough, a small town on the eastern coast: invalids came here to bathe, and as it was an open coast, when the wind blew a strong breeze, a heavy surf was thrown in, and no kind of trade by water could be carried on here owing to this surf; during gales of wind the inhabitants and visitors employed themselves in collecting shells, pebbles, &c. which were thrown up on the sands and shingle by the force of the waves.

It was during one of these gales, while sketching the elegant turning of the waves, that a lady came and requested that I would let her see my sketch; she admired it much, and told me that with her family she resided in the house that stood on the beach, and if I was fond of music as well as drawing she would be glad to see me, and I could come when I liked, and make drawings from the balcony. Some two or three days after, meeting the lady upon the beach I made a bow as I passed, and the next day paid a visit at the house on the beach, where I found the husband, and three daughters; they had just finished breakfast, and as I was fond of music, the daughters kindly played and sang alternately, accompanying themselves upon the harp and pianoforte. Music led me there daily about the same hour, and I was always regaled by the musical talents of the young ladies, who, expressing a desire to have a sail, I had the yacht got ready, and a very pleasant day was passed upon the water. Since my acquaintance with the world, I never gave into idle talk either of myself or others, and though the inhabitants of the house on the beach, in their general conversation, threw a few broad hints towards this subject, I took no notice of them, having no curiosity on this score myself, and I hoped that the sea breezes would blow it away, as I gave them no reason to persevere in this innate principle, so predominant amongst the fair.

One morning, however, as I was at breakfast a clergyman, who I had met at the person's who had lent

me his house, was announced; he said that seeing the house open, he had supposed the proprietor was there, and he had come to pay his respects, being in the neighbourhood, and at the same time he was very glad to see me. I thanked him for his showing, and invited him to breakfast, at the same time telling him as I was only a visitor there, I could not consistently ask him to stay dinner, but if he chose, as an acquaintance of my host, he could stop, so that it remained with him solely to do as he chose; he said that he was engaged to dine at the house on the beach. "Oh, oh!" says I to myself, "the divine will not be at a loss to entertain the ladies with conversation at dinner; how readily he will answer all their interrogations." The next day I made my visit as usual, but found the harp untuned, nor did the fair ones even once attempt to stretch their lovely necks, or warble syren notes to give spirit to my sketch from the balcony of their bow window, or even delay the carriage when announced, but on the contrary, seemed eager to mount the box with papa, and allow themselves to be borne away for the morning ride. "It was not thus," says I to myself, "before the divine came; he it is who has brought about this change; no doubt he has told them I was not a disposable, and that I was living with my wife and family in town." In truth I thanked the divine much, as now I could again be master of my own time, and sketch unheeded on the strand without any to command my pencil, or importune a sight of my sketch. From this I returned to London, and pursued such studies as might hereafter be serviceable to my profession; but in the course of a few weeks a former Captain of mine, Sir Richard Strachan, who had become a Vice-Admiral and a distinguished officer in the service of his country, being appointed second in command in the channel fleet, had me nominated his Captain. I was very glad, and much congratulated by my friends.

On joining my ship I found her a first-rate of the largest size, (named the *San Josef*) one of those taken by Lord Nelson from the Spaniards,[1] when the channel

[1] This is a queer way of referring to the battle which gave Lord St. Vincent his title.

fleet was commanded by Earl St. Vincent; she was laying in ordinary at Plymouth, with her lower masts out, so that I had her to fit out from the keel. Here I met with great civility from Sir John Duckworth, the Port Admiral, with whom I was soon acquainted, and became an inmate in his house, which he kept open, where a continual round of friendly naval society and amusement was agreeably kept up by his family, which made the time pass very pleasantly. The ship was got ready for sea, and going to the Sound, the result of the battle of Waterloo brought Napoleon into Plymouth sound on board the *Bellerophon*.

During the time Napoleon remained here, persons came from all parts of England to get a sight of him; Napoleon presented himself daily to the multitude that surrounded the *Bellerophon* in boats, first on one gangway, and then on the other, and in so doing he regularly touched his hat on coming and going; he remained some time at each gangway. Being desirous to make a general likeness of Napoleon, I went in my boat, taking Lord Mount-Edgecumbe with me, an old acquaintance, and was fortunate to be not more than thirty feet from the ship's side when he came to the gangway. I immediately began my sketch, and he was so good as to remain while I did it; after which, standing up, I took off my hat; he then removed his eye-glass, through which he had been looking at me all the while, touched his hat, and went to the other side. Lord Mount-Edgecumbe, whose estate bordered Plymouth sound, observing he intended a buck to be killed, asked me if it would be improper to send a haunch to Napoleon. "By no means," I said; "on the contrary it would be a politeness on his part and do him credit." He sent it to the Admiral, Lord Keith, and the Admiral to Napoleon. I was afterwards informed it had been dressed the French way, which the English consider as spoiling it.

In a few days Napoleon sailed in the *Bellerophon* to Torbay, and then to St. Helena in another man-of-war, and my Admiral struck his flag. The *San Josef* was soon after ordered to be paid off, and I soon got her

dismantled and her stores returned, when I proceeded to London, and being again at full liberty, resumed my studies. During my stay in the *San Josef*, the steamboat began to make an appearance; and one was almost daily steaming up and about the Hamoaze to draw the attention of the populace to the invention, and from that time it had its origin in England, and has since been brought to its present perfection, but as to its ever being put into competition with line-of-battle ships, it appears all humbug, as one broadside would annihilate such presumption, and such of my brethren (sea officers) as know their profession, will, I think, uphold my opinion.

My father, who had been seized of a paralytic stroke, lost the use of one side, he spoke six different languages, and since this visitation he began to use them indiscriminately, so that no person understood his wishes or wants except by gesture; however all his wants and wishes were supplied, and being anxious that all possible advice might be had as to his treatment, the most eminent men of the faculty were consulted. A plan of treatment was decided upon as most advantageous to his comfort, and not choosing to leave my father to the care of strangers, he was attended by my wife and me with all the care and attention possible, and as far as we could discover enjoyed himself in a pre-eminent degree.

Wishing to purchase a small freehold, I read all advertisements in the newspapers, and got my wife's brother to go with me to view an estate in Berkshire and another in Surrey, but the buildings as well as the farms were in a dilapidated state. At an inn where we stopped on our return to town, a small farm was to be sold, about twenty miles from London, in the course of a couple of weeks, said to be well timbered; this I thought might suit me, so I attended the sale, and it was knocked down to me. I paid the deposit, and the attorney and auctioneer asked me to stay and dine with them, saying if I returned to town the attorney would be very glad of my company in a postchaise. I acquiesced in all, and on entering the dining-room was surprised to find the attorney's wife was to make up

the third person in the postchaise ; it was now too late to change, all the stage-coaches had gone by, so I sat down to a good dinner off a roast fillet of veal and fried ham ; I made myself agreeable, and on our arrival in town stayed and took tea at the attorney's, who had two sons and one daughter, and he, like a good husband, had profited of the occasion, taking his wife with him to give her a little country air at the expense of the vendor.

My next business was to inform my lawyer of my purchase, upon which he began to make inquiries if the estate was clear, counsel's opinion was taken, and it was found that I might or might not complete the purchase as I chose ; I completed the purchase however, determining to get some insight into landed property. My next business was to go and look at my purchase, so, with my wife's brother, I went, and immediately we came upon the farm he cut a sod, threw it up into the air and wished me joy in my purchase ; he then cut a stick from the hedge, and gave it me as master of the soil. We next went to the tenant, who seemed a good kind of old man ; his wife, daughter, and three sons made up his family, and with them he worked the farm. " The land," he said, " is very poor, sir, and requires much dung : you bought it very dear, sir, and if I continue on it you must lower the rent." In this way he ran on, so that I began to think that really I had got a bad bargain ; at last, tired at his apparent discontent, I told him he had only to quit if he did not like it ; on this he changed his tone a little, and I left him. Some short time after I went down again unexpected, and upon going round the farm found the tenant was busily employed in cutting down the underwood upon one part of my farm ; I remonstrated, but he told me he was only cutting down now what he had intended to do before the farm was sold. I wrote the attorney I bought it of, as I continued him my bailiff ; he returned me for answer that the farmer was not justified in what he had done, so I gave him notice to quit, and I soon got another tenant, but he was a dallying kind of man, and likely to be behind in the rent, as well as

to retard the growth of the timber, so I gave him warning, and took the farm into my own hands.

Peace being now the order of the day, I wished to procure for my children the advantages which a country life held out to them at their age, and was upon the look out for some place where little else than country air and wholesome exercise would interfere with the plan of education my wife and me had laid down. Being on a visit to a friend's house in the country, and telling him my intentions, he made me an offer of a farm house a tenant of his was just going to quit, which, if I chose to inhabit, I might have rent free ; but as rent free is always an uncertain tenure as well as inconvenient, I declined his kind offer : he shewed me the house, and though small, observing if he would make a few alterations and put the house into some repair, I would gladly accept his offer, and pay him as rent the interest of the money he laid out : this was acceded to. My father was still in excellent health, his senses as clear as ever, so I considered it best to underlet the house to him, he being the head of the family. Here I may say my father enjoyed excellent health for nearly two years, and at the age of eighty-six died without a groan.

My father had two rooms on the ground floor communicating with each other ; in the one where his bed was, for about eight or nine weeks prior to his death, I used to hear a ticking in the fireplace, which was heard almost continually, and I often brought my wife, children and the nursemaid to hear it likewise ; nothing could be seen, though the grate and chimney were searched : the noise would now and then cease while searching, but after the search was over it would recommence. I told my wife and children to remark the circumstance, as I considered it as a fore-warning for some of us being soon called away, and most likely my father. The impression was made, and about three days before my father died the ticking ceased altogether, and after my father's demise it was heard no more. From the person I rented the house my father lived in, I had permission to open a vault in the chancel of the parish church, and the parish poor from the workhouse attended and stood

on each side the walk in the churchyard, leading to the church door, and as a testimony of their charity, I requested the overseer of the poor to give each adult one shilling, and sixpence to each child.

Thus was the body of John Luke, Baron de Raigersfeld of the Holy Roman Empire, after a residence of sixty-three years in England as Secretary of the Embassy Councillor, and Chargé d'Affaires, interred in the parish church of Boxley, in Kent. The Baron came to England in the reign of Maria Teresa, with Count Seilern, the Austrian Ambassador, and continued in this capacity until one thousand eight hundred and seventeen. During the time that Buonaparte was paramount, he requested the Austrian Government to recal their Ambassador. The Ambassador left England, and after some short time Buonaparte objected to the Baron de Raigersfeld remaining in England; these objections were, not without some difficulty, got over, and my father was permitted to remain. It was during this residence of his in England, that negociations were carried on which terminated in that coalition[1] of the Powers of the Continent, that overcame this Colossal Power. Some time after the demise of my father, an attempt was made to surcharge me with assessed taxes,[2] which the assessor said was due in my father's life time. This I resisted upon the grounds that my father being a foreign Minister was not liable to this demand. I was however obliged to appeal, and by perseverance only was it decided in my favour.

In such cases where the notoriety of Foreign Ministers and their suites are by the common law of England precluded from payment of King's taxes, any attempt to surcharge them can, one would suppose, only originate from the ignorance of the assessor, or these assessors, perhaps, thinking by creating difficulties they may bring themselves into notice. I had, indeed, upon our first going to live in the country, given notice of his diplomatic situation, in order that no mistake might occur afterwards; finding however this was not attended to by

[1] Austria joined the allies on 12th August, 1813.

[2] Obviously tax-collectors do not alter much in a mere century.

this surcharge, I made application at the fountain head, where it can neither be the wish nor interest to act other than on the broad principle of the law laid down relating to the privileged usage of Foreign Ambassadors and their suites. As to myself, I conceive I should not have done my duty either to my father's situation, or to my own country as an Englishman, had I tacitly submitted the surcharge to be levied.

NINTH VOYAGE

MY children being of an age to gain instruction by travelling, I took my family to Paris. The snow was on the ground. To give a description of Calais would add but little to what is already known, and be of no essential service to those who only considering it a place merely to rest a night or so, in their hurry on to what is denominated inviting Paris, where like thousands of other savans, they are lost in the consuming vortex of unsatisfied insatiableness, therefore I shall enter directly upon what more immediately concerns the traveller's personal comforts ; who, before he leaves the packet, ought to make up a bundle of those things he may be most in want of for the night, leaving his trunks on board in the charge of the steward of the vessel. On landing, he should readily pay the few sous required, as step or wharf duty, imposed on strangers, give his bundle to a porter, and follow him to the office of the custom-house upon the quay, without heeding in the least the impertinent host of waiters, who in the same breath that they demand where and to what hotel you are going, thrust the cards of their different employers into your hands and pockets, following you with their vociferous inquisitivness even into the very room of the custom-house and hotel you go to.

After the examination of your bundle at the custom-house, let the porter take it and proceed towards the town ; before you enter the gate your passport will be demanded, which you must give up ; you may then order the porter to conduct you to what hotel you like, but as these porters have their eyes continually upon your pockets, you must be on your guard lest they conduct you to some other hotel in whose particular pay they are, they relying on your supineness as their security in the cheat, therefore you would do well upon entering

to inquire what hotel it is, lest you remain ignorant of the hotel you are brought to until it is not worth your removing to the one you desired they would conduct you to. This species of low cunning is very often palmed upon Johnny Bull, who vain, good natured man, swallows all as gospel; these porters know the credulity of Johnny as well as their employers.

Your next care should be to see your bed-room, and to know exactly (if only for one night) what you are to pay for your bed, as well as for each meal separately; but should you choose to dine at the table d'hôte, where a regular price is established, there is not much chance of imposition, though I recommend inquiry as to this likewise, indeed it would be well to make the same inquiries at all places where you propose staying, nor will the good sense of the French feel offended at your precaution, but they will rather entertain a higher opinion of your integrity, besides by so doing you prevent disputes, a thing at all times to be avoided by strangers. These matters being adjusted, make inquiries about your luggage, get it examined, and go for your passport to the police office, where you will be questioned, and a fresh passport given to you instead of your own, which will be forwarded to Paris; a fee is then demanded; after which you are at liberty to proceed upon your journey, and the passport they give you, you should always have ready to produce when asked for as you enter the different towns you pass through.

For economy, moderate comfort, and dispatch, the diligence surpasses all other conveyances; it is conducted with order, and so regulated in point of time, that no room is left for complaint, your luggage being safe, and the conductor and postilions sober; refreshments are provided at the places you stop at, and at a fixed and reasonable rate, and the conveyance rendered unembarrassing to the stranger, who will find on arriving at his point of destination that his necessary expenses have not exceeded the sum he calculated upon, with the advantage of gaining a fund of useful information from his fellow-travellers, for the French are generally very intelligent and communicative, provided Mr. Bull will

only condescend to lay aside his grandeur during the journey, and gather by the way-side such scraps of knowledge as are everywhere to be found by those who have the sense to glean, and the gleanings, though small, will be worth his condescension.

Arrived at Paris, the conductor will send your luggage to whatever hotel you please ; hotels abound, and most of them are fitted up and furnished to suit either expense or penury ; an applicant need be at no loss, he can be suited to his purse. It is, however, the custom not to have your meals at hotels, and as traiteurs abound you may breakfast and dine at almost any hour and at any price, no one taking the least notice of you in this respect, except the waiters, whose attention assuring their gain procures you at all times a favourable reception. The police throughout France being vigilant, hotel-keepers, cabaret-keepers, and all masters of houses that receive and take in lodgers, are obliged within a certain time to carry a description to the office of police of every new comer arriving or leaving their roof, and you will do well to follow their advice as to your passport, which they will get exchanged for the one you brought with you from Calais, and another will be given for your security. While in Paris, your name, quality, &c. will be inscribed in a book kept at the hotel for that purpose, and a return made to the police, and should you remove elsewhere, you will again have to undergo the same scrutiny, and any variation or error you may make unintentionally will most likely put you to inconvenience, as the following remarks will shew.

I had given my passport to the master of the hotel, and another was brought me in its stead for my security while in Paris, but in a day or two after, returning from a walk, the portress of the hotel gave me a letter, which I found came from the military department of the police, requesting my attendance there the next day at one o'clock, they having something for my advantage to communicate. This appeared so very extraordinary, that I shewed the letter to the master of the hotel, who I perceived began to think all was not right ; however, knowing every thing was in regular order, I requested

he would accompany me the next day ; this he promised to do, and in the mean time I went among my friends, advising them of the summons I had received, and this I did lest any foul play had been intended towards me.

Immediately after breakfast the next morning I made inquiries for the master of the hotel, who had promised to go with me, but was told that he had been obliged to go into the country ; this I perceived was evidently an excuse on his part to avoid being implicated with me should any thing be found wrong ; therefore I settled with my family, in case I did not return an hour before dinner time to go immediately to my friend Prince Castelcicala, Neapolitan Ambassador, and acquaint him of my detention ; so putting my permission of leave to travel from England and my passport into my pocket, away I went to the military department of the police, where, making inquiries for the Commandant, I was ushered up stairs into an anti-chamber, and after waiting some short time shewn into another room : here was the Commandant and two other persons with him. Upon presenting him his letter requiring my attendance, he arose from his chair, and in order to have a more complete view of me, placed himself between me and the window, then, in an authoritative tone, said, " If I recollect right, I remember your being in a Swiss regiment ; pray how came you here ? " Upon this question and without answering him, I presented my permission of leave from England ; he opened it, but not understanding a word of English, looked at me and then at the paper, so just giving him time for a moment's reflection, I presented him with the French passport, observing in English that perhaps he would better understand that.

Perceiving that he saw he was mistaken, and that he would endeavour to place any error or incorrectness there might be upon my shoulders, I kept silent. " It is entirely your fault," says he, " being brought here, from your not writing your description down properly upon the book kept at the hotel for that purpose." This was just the point to where I aimed to bring him. " That," says I, " is rather extraordinary to impute blame to me, for though a stranger in this country I had always

heard that your police was considered as the most perfect, therefore I gave my passport to the master of the hotel, whose business and duty it was to write truly a description from it, with his own remarks, and would you have me, a stranger, presume to interfere in the smallest degree in what he, as a subject and inhabitant of Paris, is no doubt well instructed by the police what to do?" In saying this I threw my emphasis rather ironically, at the same time turning to the other persons in the room so as to diffuse my remarks equally amongst them. The Commandant immediately, as well as the others, felt the reply; therefore, lowering my voice, I observed, "that as he now perceived these masters of hotels were so negligent in their returns, in future it would be more my care to glance at their report." "Thank you, sir," says the Commandant; "errors happen everywhere, and I am sorry for the trouble you have had." "As to that, believe me," I said, "I am glad of it, for had it not happened I should not have had perhaps the occasion of making your acquaintance, and gaining an insight into the excellence of your police." The Commandant bowed, and after a short conversation on indifferent matters, I took my leave, the Commandant accompanying me to the outward door, begging a thousand pardons, and bowing all the way. This trouble came upon me by my not doing what I ought to have done.

As almost every amusement is going on at Paris, to those who have neither friends nor acquaintances to occupy the precious time they may have allotted for their gallavanting, there will be found amusement from morning until night, indeed it is one of the pleasantest places possible for strangers, as they can every day but one in the week have access to visit the different palaces, gardens, and galleries of paintings, into which the inhabitants are admitted only upon a Sunday. This really does credit to the French, and no doubt draws many to their capital; the English in particular like to have it known they have contemplated what is renommée, although they are frequently no more a judge of their beauties than they are of the beauties of such works as have no renommée at all.

I once heard of a great fat man, who from accident went to travel with a gentleman. Italy, the seat of the arts, was visited ; when he returned to England he was considered in the circle he revolved in as a connoisseur, and to establish himself as such he visited the principal collections in London, and in the ensuing spring made up a party to visit Mr. Hope's collection of pictures in that city. On entering the rooms where he had been before, he remarked that such a picture was a Guido, that a Titian, the other a Reubens, a chef-d'œuvre of the Master, to the great admiration of his hearers, who stuck close to him, swallowing the observations that escaped their great oracle, which expanded their astonishment and astounded their intellect. The man who shewed the pictures, finding the fat man kept the company rather longer than he wished, remarked that the gentleman made a mistake in the names of the different masters. " Mistake," says the fat man, " why is not that a Guido—that a Titian ? " " No," says the man. " That is strange," retorted the fat man with a sneer, " for you told me they were so only last year when I was here." " That is true, sir," said the man, " but Mr. Hope has had all the pictures changed and differently placed this year, and not one of all those you named are in this room now." The fat man became dumb, and it afterwards came out that he had noted the places where the works of the great masters were hung up, without any reference to their subject, and it was this led the connoisseur into error. Query—Is this the only fat man of his kind that vaunteth his knowledge ?

The city of Paris is of itself, from the variety of its buildings, coffee-houses, shops, wares, merchandise, pictures and prints displayed upon its quays and boulevards in the open air, an interesting coup d'œil ; this, with the continual passing and repassing of an active population, gives liveliness to the scene, and its visitors acquire a certain degree of light taste, which now and then lead them to a view of mount Parnassus *in the distance*. In Passion Week a custom prevails with the Parisians to frequent a promenade called Long Champs,

so named from a convent that formerly stood there, in which the lamentations of Jeremiah were so well performed as to attract the best company of Paris. This convent has long since fallen into decay, but its remembrance is still perpetuated by the Parisians, they making Long Champs a resort to display the new fashions for the year, and on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday in Passion Week, between the hours of twelve and one, a numerous body of troops, both horse and foot, are stationed from the barrier Neuilly along the road to the Champs Elyseès, through the Rue Royale, up to the Boulevards de la Madeleine, Capucins, des Italians, Montmartre, and Poissonniere, as far as the Porte Saint Denis, in order to prevent confusion amongst the carriages that parade in line upon one side and down the other of this long distance; the coup d'œil is enlivening, and the scene considerably heightened by crowds of well-dressed persons of both sexes occupying three and four rows of chairs placed on each side of this promenade all the way.

This is the moment when the fashion of dress is considered to be set for the year, and Paris makes it a point to display her favourite occupations, so that the strangers, what with the singers, dancers, fiddlers, all busily employed, displaying their various talents before the coffee-houses and various places of refreshment, will find full employment to occupy all their senses when contemplating this recreative mass. There is a something in the air of the English, though they readily comply with the general fashion of dress where they reside, by which they are recognised, and they are frequently saluted with, "*Voila, ðeꞩ goð ðemꞩ*," "*ðeꞩ bœuf ꞩtake*," "*ðeꞩ roꞩte bœuf*," with many other *witticiꞩmꞩ*, that do not uphold that general politeness for which the French are renowned; and when you go to purchase any thing in the shops, you will find there are two prices, one for the inhabitants and another for strangers, notwithstanding *pri fixe* is written in large letters on the windows, and persons would do well to offer about two-thirds, which is generally a fair price.

I went to purchase a wash-ball, at a shop in the

Palais Royal; the man asked me so exorbitant a price that I made rather an objection, upon which he observed in a rude and peevish manner, that as the English came to Paris for the purpose of amusing themselves, they ought to pay for it. I immediately left the shop and the wash-ball, observing to the man that in a capital where water was so dear it was no wonder the mouth was so foul.

The houses in Paris are generally much larger than in England, constructed upon quite a different plan, many of them having one general entry for carriages, and one stone staircase that leads to all the different floors of the house, sometimes there are as many as eight; the ground floor serves as shops, the first and second are mostly one suite of apartments, containing from one to two, three, six, and seven rooms each, so that every house may be said to consist of many houses, inhabited by different families, rich and poor, without inconvenience to any of them. The house belongs to one proprietor, who lets out the different apartments unfurnished; those who take them sometimes underlet them again, furnished or unfurnished, as found most advantageous; the proprietor stands to all repairs of the house, and pays all taxes. Each house has a porter, male or female, with a family, and receives from the house-proprietor, whose servant they are, a salary, from two to twelve hundred francs yearly; the porter takes in all letters, messages, &c. relating to its inhabitants, keeps out improper persons, shuts and opens the gates, and has the staircase, the court yard, and street before the house to sweep daily. At each floor a hole in the wall is made, through which all filth, slops, and dish-water is thrown into a leaden trough, from whence it descends by a pipe into the court yard, and woe to the legs of passers by should this cream of the floors be soused out as any person crosses the court yard; the sweepings of the floors are left in a heap on the different landing places to be taken away by the porter when he sweeps the staircase, court yard, and street door before the house.

From the description given of the cemetry called

Père la Chaise, and the eagerness with which the Parisians inquire if you have seen it, with, "*ah! les belles choses qu' il y a là,*" leads you to suppose that taste does so prevail in the disposition and decoration of its monuments, as to turn the mind in upon itself, and lead it to reflection, but no such impressions as these are called forth; the burying ground is spacious, and in order to mould it into the easy and agreeable form that accident most commonly gives all things, it has been left to the *goût* of executors where they think proper to deposit the dead, as well as raise such monuments their fancy may lead them to erect; yet notwithstanding this great latitude, and the aid of stunted evergreens abundantly intermixed with these monuments, sameness pervades, and the whole becomes uniformly dull and uninteresting, the monuments in general having more the appearance of little cabinets, than solemniated remembrances of departed friends. There are, however, exceptions here and there to this pervading sameness, and I was repaid for a long walk in wind and dust by one of these remembrances. It was a small black marble pillar, between six and seven feet high, bearing on its summit a white dove seated, with a garland of flowers thrown over its neck; its simplicity spoke more for Père la Chaise than all the dull and heavy masonry encircled within its walls.

The playhouses, though small to ours, seem better adapted for the drama; there is however an inconvenience of import existing here, from persons between the acts being allowed to hawk about spectacles and opera glasses for sale, nor tacit or civil denial suffices them; one of these so persevered with his wares, that I was obliged to tell him I came there to see the play, and not to purchase spectacles. Persons subjected to such annoyances unsettles them in the amusement they seek, and such things should not be allowed at all. In one of their new plays an English innkeeper, in order to be perfectly English, is made to ejaculate every now and then, "*got ∂em!*" without *got ∂em* having the least reference to what came before, or what is to follow, and this picture of an Englishman is rendered still more

ludicrous by *got ∂em* always accompanying the ejaculation with a shrewd shrug of his shoulders and jirk of the body.

Oh ! how I laughed at the positive darkness in which the mass here are with respect to England, and its inhabitants, many of them really thinking that the sun scarce ever shines in England, except in the height of summer, fancying at the same time that in Paris alone centres all those comforts, amusements, and luxuries which the appetite of man is continually craving to posses. Paris does and will to all appearances bear for years the marks of the revolution, nor do the generality of house proprietors care to give this species of property necessary repair, and what little they do is so sparingly as scarcely to deserve a name. Go where you will this backwardness is so striking, that it is evident proprietors do not yet consider it prudent to disburse, and what still more marks the justness of this observation is, that shopkeepers and people in business, instead of employing their profits in extending their business, keep it by them in specie, nor will they even purchase stock, or lend it upon interest, and from various inquiries I made, the answers were uniformly the same : " we keep our money by us until we can find a favourable occasion to purchase ; houses are on sale continually, but so dilapidated as not to be worth buying, and as to placing money in the funds it would be madness at this time, for suppose that Government could not, or should not choose to pay, what could we do ? No, no, the best is to keep it by us, and as we sell our goods replace them in part, merely to save appearances of distrust." Indeed many persons having shops, say they do not sell enough to pay their rent, let alone live, and what they sell, is at so close a bargain as scarcely to equal original cost.

In spring formerly the largest purchases were made and trade regarded this as a season of return, but latterly trade had so fell off, that many have been necessitated to sell off their whole stock by auction, as being the only way of procuring a little ready money to prevent starving, and these persons by little and little disappear.

If you ask of those who knew them what has become of them, the answer is, " we know not, though we suppose they have dwindled to beggary." The down-cast manner and tone in which these answers are given, bore so much the stamp of truth as to leave no doubt to what an extent this evil had been felt. From my being a stranger, I really think the persons with whom I conversed on these subjects spoke without disguise, and more fully than they would have done to their own countrymen. The French people do not like to be what the English call free ; they have no notion of it in the sense the English consider freedom, or of Houses of Commons and Lords as a part of one body existing together, and they say they rather wish for a person, who knowing how to govern, would, when money is required for the service of the State, collect what is necessary. " It is true," they observe, " that now and then we have thought such large collections hard in the days of Napoleon." " Mais il faut," is their observation, and the money was paid, but then there was an end of it for that time, whereas a change led to a different plan, and they consider their situation much worse, as now they get hold of the debates, and read a great deal of what is intended to be carried into effect, which, to their minds, naturally *vif*, unsettles them, for they say we are a people who do not like to think, and consider it useless to know so long beforehand the intention of those who govern ; as things are now—no trade, no commerce—they conceive themselves much worse off.

During the time I remained at Paris I mixed with all classes, and found from their conversation that although things appeared quiet, so that a stranger could not well penetrate the general wish of the French people, yet I was frequently told that the partial commotions I saw now were nothing, being merely the effervescence of a cauldron that was heating, and things might go on as hitherto for fourteen or fifteen years, or for the life of Louis 18th, but if he did not die before that time, these would end and commotions would take place, for France would be free and not wait longer : such was the general

feeling in 1820. In the time of Napoleon, they say, he used to collect what he wanted in men and money without noise and bustle; as for men, he generally found more than he wanted, and though the conscriptions swept away nearly all who were of an age to go to the armies, and some under age, instancing that men having two sons, the eldest was preferred, and in some cases, if the parents were not infirm, both sons were taken, which was extremely hard, but then they were wanted for the nation. "Et il faut," was their observation, and the loss the parents sustained was thought no more of in a day or two; indeed, provided the French people are left uninterrupted in their favourite amusements,—the grand opera, their promenades, dancing, and follies,—they are easily governed.

I was informed that the sons of many wealthy persons, desirous of serving in the army, made repeated applications for admittance as privates, but were not admitted by Napoleon; sometime after, however, their demands became clamorous, when the following expedient was hit upon to suit their wishes: viz.—that such applicants of this class as chose to equip themselves with a horse, furniture, clothing, &c. a cost amounting to about one thousand four hundred francs, would be received and formed into a corps of themselves, to be styled the Guard of Honour to the Army, with the privilege of marching always at its head. No sooner was this promulgated, than twenty thousand immediately volunteered, each individual bearing his own expenses, with the addition of a servant. They were embodied and marched to the army, and when they came to the Rhine, the General commanding told them that as they were soon to do the duty of soldiers their servants were unnecessary. "True," was their answer, and the servants were sent back home. This Guard of Honour, at the battle of Leipsic, it is said fell to a man on the field of battle.

Paris having for sometime past been in a disturbed state, mobs parading the streets armed with sticks, crying out "La charte," I considered it prudent, as my children had acquired the Parisian accent and manner of speaking,

to return to England, so, with a young French woman, who had been with the children since their arrival at Paris, and a French cook, we left Paris, and by way of Calais crossed to Dover, and arrived safe at my dwelling at Weavering.

INDEX

Adwin, Mr., 5
Amiens, Peace of, xxxiii
Antibes, prison experiences in, 128 *et seq.*
Assassinations in Lisbon, 80

Bastia, surrender of, 121
Belgrade, General, 90–1
Bellona, xi, xviii, xxxviii, 68 *et seq.*
Birth certificates, bogus, x, xviii
Brame, Mr., 153
Bridport, Lord, xxvii, 169
Brown, Colonel, 90
Brun (author of "Guerres Maritimes"), xxiv
Bude, General, 99
Burton, Hon. Rowland, 15

Cable, Lieutenant, 7
Cachiardi, Captain, 141
Calder, Sir Robert, xxxv, 171
Campbell, Captain (Rear-Admiral), x
Caranash, meaning of, 18 *note*
Caroline, Princess, xxvi
Carteau, General, 118
Castelcicala, Prince, 197
Cathcart, Hon. Charles Alan, xvi, xvii, 42 *note*, 61
Chamier, M., vii, xix
Charles of Austria, Archduke, 91
Clavell, Lieutenant John, x
Clerfait, General, 90
Cochrane, Lord, xxi, xxvi, xxix, xxx, xxxi
Cockburn, Admiral Sir George, xxii, xxxix, 117 *and note*
Coffin, Captain Isaac, x
Collingwood, Captain Cuthbert, vi, vii, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xxxviii, xlv, 9, 35, 36, 67
Collingwood, Commander Wilfred, 35 *and note*
Cooke, Lieutenant Edward, xx, 104
Corbet, Captain Robert, xiv, 17 *note*
Cornwallis, Admiral the Hon. Sir William, ix, x, 7
Courageux, xx, xxxviii, 100 *et seq.*
Courtenay, Captain, xxxviii, 71
Cunningham, Captain, xxi, xxxix

Derockney, Mrs., 1
De Roy, Mr., 37
Dominic (pilot), 14, 16
Duckworth, Sir John, 188
Dumouriel, Marquis and Marchioness, 96, 97
Dumouriez, General, xx, 97
Duncan, Admiral, xxvii, 161, 179
Dundonald, Lord, xxix
"Dutch Armament," the, xvi, 39 *note*
Dysentery, and its symptoms, 62 *et seq.*

Elliot, Sir George, xii, xix
Elliott, Sir Gilbert, 120
Elphinstone, Hon. Charles, 71 *and note*, 73, 126
Elphinstone, Captain Keith (Lord), xx, xxvii, xxxviii, 111, 162, 188
Eyre, Captain George, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, 119

Faulknor, Captain Robert, xxx
Flying Dutchman, the mythical, xvii, 53, 55, 56
Fox, xxvii, xxxviii, 159 *et seq.*
Franco-Austrian war (1792), 90 *note*

Gardner, James Anthony, vii, xiv, xv, xx, xxiii, xxxii
Gasket, definition of, 57
Gell, Rear-Admiral John, xxi, 113
George III, King, 68
Glascock, William Nugent, vii
Gordon, Commander Henry, xxx, xxxiii, xxxiv
Græme, Vice-Admiral Alexander, 179 *and note*
Grapnel (or graplin), 69 *and note*
Graves, Algernon, xxxv

Haddington, Lord, 160
Hailstones extraordinary, 112–13
Hall, Basil, vii
Hall, Franklin, xxxvi
Hartwell, Captain F. J., xviii, xxxviii
Hawkins, Miss, viii
Helena, xxxviii
Hermes, xxxi, xxxviii, 172 *et seq.*
Hickery (seaman), flogged, 11
Hobbs (boatswain), 119
Hoche's Irish expedition, xxvii
Holland, Lord, 156
Hood, Lord, vii, xv, xvi, xviii, xx, xxi, xxii, xxxviii, 37, 38, 68, 69, 99, 104, 124, 153
Horts, Sir John, 80
Hotham, Lord, xxvi, 153, 154
Howe, Lord, vii, 99
Hughes, Rear-Admiral Sir Richard, 16
Hunter, Dr. John, 1

Ibbetson, Julius Cæsar, xvii, 59
Inman, Captain, 181

James, Bartholomew, vii, xxi
Jervis, Sir John (Earl St. Vincent), x, xxix, xxx, xxxv, 28 *note*, 187 *note*
Jones, Paul, ix, 8, 9

Keith, Lord, *see* Elphinstone, Captain Keith
Knight, Captain John, xxxviii, 101
Knott, John, 11, 21

Laibach, Bishop of, 155
Langara, Don, xxi, 107
Leghorn, carnival at, 155–6
Lightning conductor, an early, 28 *note*
Linsee, Captain, 99
Lion, ix
Lisle, siege of, 91 *et seq.*

Machineel tree, 32
Macnamara, Captain, 122
Malcolm, Captain Pulteney, xxvii, xxxix, 159
Mara, Madam, 39 *and note*
Marryat, Captain, vii
Martin, Commissioner, xv, 9, 12, 38
Martin, Rear-Admiral, ix, xxii, xxiii
Mediator, xi, xiii, xxxviii, 9 *et seq.*
Merfelt, Colonel, 91
Mills, John, 22, 23
Mitchel, Rear-Admiral, 177
Monkeys, craftiness of, 66
Montgomery, Captain, 119, 120
Moore, Lieutenant, 37
Morioncourt, Lieutenant, 111
Mount-Edgecumbe, Lord, 188
Moutray, Commissioner, 12

Napoleon, xxxv, 118, 188, 192
Nelson, Captain Horatio (Lord), xxiii, xxvi, xxxv, 187 *note*
Nicholson, Rev. Dr., 4, 5
No Quarter Decree, the, xxiii, xxiv

Nore, mutiny of the, xxvii, 169
North, Mrs., 5

O'Hara, General, xxi, 71, 118 *and note*
Orleans, Duke of, 171

Pallas, xxvii, xxxviii
Paoli, General, 121
Parker, Sir Hyde, 105
Payne, Commodore John Willett, xxvi, 158
Pearl, xix, xxxviii, 71 *et seq.*
Peel family, 4
Pett, Phineas, xxxiii
Pincto, Chevalier de, 79
Pollon, Chevalier, 79, 80
Popham, Sir Home, xxxv
Pozzó del Borgo, 121
Pressing, system of, xxxi
Prince Frederick, xxvii, xxxviii

Raigersfeld, Jeffery, table of his services, xxxviii, xxxix
Raigersfeld, John Luke, Baron de, viii, 192
Ramage, Captain Ed., xxxix
Rats as food, xiv, 20
" Reading-in " of officers' commission, 159 *note*
Robespierre, Maximilien, xxiv, xxvi, 115, 142, 145
Romney, Earl of, 185
Ross, Captain, 133
Royal George, efforts to raise, xiv, 10
Ruderford, Lieutenant, 41
Rupert, Prince, 23 *and note*
" Russian Armament," the, xx, 83 *note*

St. André, Jambon, 126
St. Julien, Rear-Admiral, 109 *and note*
San Josef, xxxv, xxxviii, 187 *et seq.*
Saxe-Teschen, Duke of, 83, 90
Schaffelitzky, Baron, 91, 92
Schank, Captain John, xxxii
Scorpions, and how destroyed, 30
Sea Fencibles, viii, xxxv, 185
Secondorf, Baron de, 83, 90, 91, 93
Seilern, Count, 192
Shark-catching, described, 163
Shaw, Mr., 119, 155
Slavery, and the British flag, xix, 76
Smollett, Tobias, xiii
" Spanish Armament," the, xvi, xix, 78 *note*
Speedy, xxi, xxxviii, 114 *et seq.*
Staines, Sir Thomas, 117
Starhemberg, Count, xxviii
Starry, General, 90
" Starting," practice of, xiv, 17 *note*
Steam-boats invented, 189
Stewart, Sir James, 120
Strachan, Vice-Admiral Sir Richard, vii, xvi, xxxv, xxxviii, xxxix, 39, 187
Swifter of capstan, 41 *note*

Tackles, and their use, 168 *and note*
Thames, the, frozen, 173
Tournay, Abbey of St. Martin at, 84 *et seq.*
Tracey's attempts to raise *Royal George*, xiv, 10
Triumph, xi, xxxviii
Trogoff, Comte de, 109 *note*
Tuscany, Grand Duke of, 74

Uring, Captain N., 57 *note*

Vestal, xi, xvi, xxxviii, 39 *et seq.*
Victory, xx, xxxviii, 101 *et seq.*
Volánte, how the game is played, 73

Waldegrave, Hon. William (Rear-Admiral), xxxviii, 100 *and note*
Webster, Sir Godfrey and Lady, 156

Whelps, definition of, 41 *note*
William Henry, Prince, xv, 35
Wolverine, xxxii, xxxviii, 178 *et seq.*
Wood, Mr., 4, 5
Woodley, Captain, xxxviii
Wurtemberg, Prince of, 90, 98
Wycombe, Lord, 156
Wyndham, Hon. William, 156

York, Duke of, 177

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London
F20 . 129.

EIL 3/6